

# PEACE NEWS

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## Public Affairs COMMENTARY

### CZECHOSLOVAKIA

THE Czechoslovakian Government has now brought forward the fourth plan for dealing with the Sudeten German minority. Though this plan has not been published, it is reported to go a great deal further in meeting Sudeten demands than any of the previous proposals made by the Government. Negotiations on the basis of this last plan for reaching some form of settlement have, in fact, begun.

In some respects it can be said that no final settlement of the Sudeten German problem can be reached till the Sudeten areas are incorporated in the Reich.

The problem has been to know how to find a means of peaceful change, even in the case of Czechoslovakia where the injustice of this German boundary has always been recognized.

The only other alternative is the effective neutralization of Czechoslovakia under guarantee of the Powers. As this, however, will involve Germany and Russia acting as joint guarantors, such an alternative may not be possible for some time at least. It will also involve the demilitarization of the Czech State and the winding up of her huge armaments industry.

On the other hand, if Czechoslovakia chooses to remain a power factor in European politics, her minorities will constitute her most serious weakness.

Czechoslovakia, for her own sake, may find a solution of this problem in surrendering the German areas, as no exchange of population is possible such as has been arranged by Italy in respect of the much smaller German minority in the Tyrol.

It is not without significance, despite denials, that *The Times* points out that the advantages to Czechoslovakia of becoming a homogeneous State might conceivably outweigh the obvious disadvantages of losing the Sudeten German districts of the borderland.

It may be that the final end of all the present discussions is to make possible such a transfer with the least amount of friction. In fact what we may be seeing today is the ending by peaceful means (despite the enormous amount of anxiety and doubt manifested in the last few weeks) of a system of injustice which the peace treaties imposed, and which has generally been recognized as having to come to an end at some time or another.

### COUNTERBLAST

A FORTNIGHT ago I detected, with rare satisfaction, a solitary note of sanity on the Czech-Sudeten problem. It was in the *New Statesman* and it is worth repeating and remembering for when the deluge of propaganda about "fighting for democracy" descends upon us.

It read:

If Hitler agrees to accept a solution within Czechoslovakia, it may still be possible, if the Czechs make an imaginative offer of partnership to the Sudeten Germans, to reconcile them to existing frontiers.

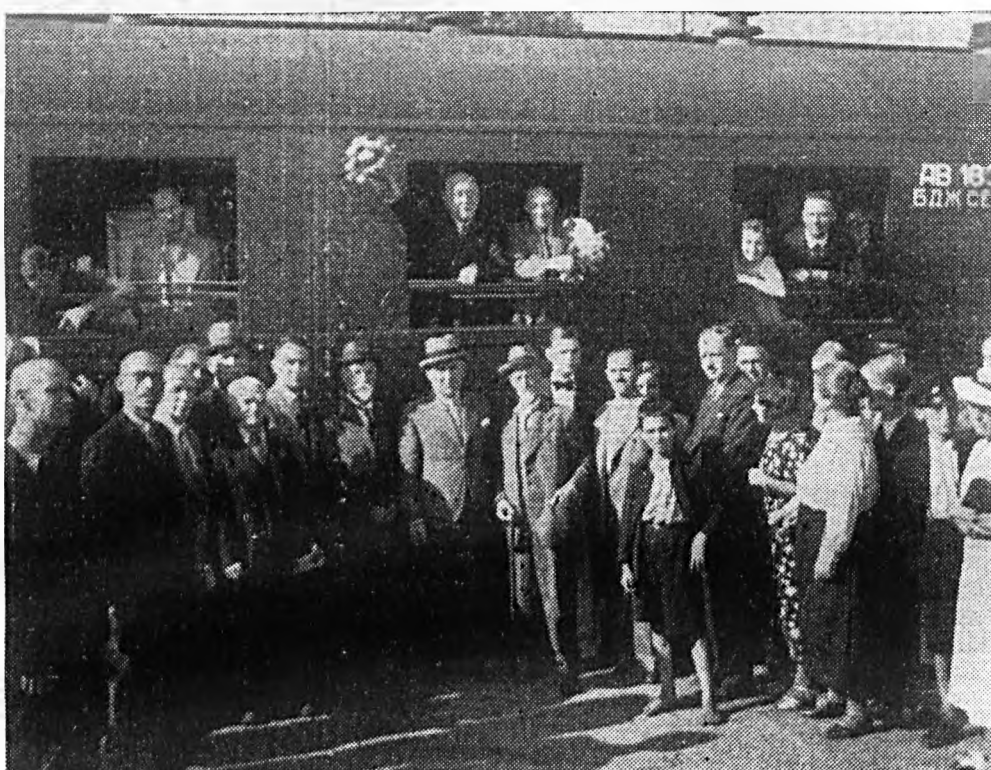
But if Lord Runciman reports that this is impossible, the question of frontier revision, difficult though it is, should be at once tackled. The strategical value of the Bohemian frontier should not be made the occasion for a world war.

And so say all of us. Last week, however, there was no follow-up of this sage's precept. It appears, too, that the readers of this leading democratic weekly journal were too blinded by this flash of truth to utter any corresponding protest.

### MR. MORRISON'S CHOICE

WONDER what Mr. Herbert Morrison, M.P. and leader of the London County Council thought of it. He wrote a long "Open Letter to the German People" in a London evening newspaper this week that

(Continued on back page.)



MR. GEORGE LANSBURY (shown above at Sofia, Bulgaria) returned to London on Tuesday from his Balkan peace mission. All the South-Eastern statesmen seen by him and his companions, the Rev. Henry Carter and Percy W. Bartlett, had agreed with their propaganda for a new economic conference based on the Van Zeeland report. Mr. Lansbury said on arrival that in the Balkan countries visited he had found everyone earnestly hoping and praying for peace, dreading the coming of war, and regretting the "obligation" to spend so much on arms. (Mr. Lansbury's welcome in Sofia, page 9).

## FREE CHURCHES NOT BACKING A.R.P. HOME OFFICE CLAIM BELIED BY THE FACTS

INVESTIGATIONS undertaken by PEACE NEWS support our exposure last week of the hollowness of the Home Office claim to have secured "the cooperation of all the churches" in the air raid precautions campaign due to begin next month.

This newspaper has written to Sir Samuel Hoare pointing out that, as we told our readers last week, four of the Nonconformist Churches deny having promised support for ARP.

Sir Samuel Hoare has now replied, through his private secretary, that, "after consultation with representatives of the several churches, he is satisfied that the great majority of their members are in support of the preparations which he is making" (our italics).

This fact, however, was not in question; for it is by no means the same as saying that all the churches are themselves cooperating in ARP.

The distinction is made even plainer when it is recalled that the circular in which the claim regarding the churches was made was by no means so sweeping in its reference to the press; it claims to have received only the cooperation of "representatives of the chief national and provincial daily newspapers." Apparently it was particularly desired to convey the impression that in the case of the churches there was no question of refusal to cooperate.

### STATEMENT UNAUTHORIZED

Actually, the position regarding the Free Churches is such as to give the lie to the Home Secretary's claim to "cooperation." A correspondent, D. Martin Dakin, quotes a high authority in the Congregational Church to show that the Free Churches, as a whole, are not committed to support of ARP.

In view of Sir Samuel Hoare's claim Mr. Dakin wrote to the Rev. S. M. Berry, secretary of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, expressing surprise that such a decision should have been taken without an official resolution by the May

Meetings.

"In his reply," Mr. Dakin now tells PEACE NEWS, "he (Mr. Berry) assured me that the statement in the press was quite unauthorized, that the Congregational Union had never given any official support to ARP, and that in fact, when Sir Samuel Hoare had interviewed the Free Church secretaries, he had been told by them all that any attempt to organize such support would split the Churches and could not be contemplated."

Mr. Dakin doubtless speaks for a great many members of all churches when he describes as "intolerable" the Home Office action in giving a wrong impression of the attitude of the churches, now that it has found it is unable to make the churches its tools.

### DIVISION OF VIEWS

So far as the other denominations go, the following seems to be the position:

**Anglicans:** The Home Office recruiting efforts have been commended by bishops in their diocesan magazines.

**Roman Catholics:** The Catholic Hierarchy of England and Wales has offered its cooperation to the Home Secretary.

**Baptists:** Although the Baptist Union is in favour of participation in ARP, it has no authority over the attitude taken by individual churches. Letters in the Baptist press have shown a cleavage of opinion on the subject.

Denials that their denominations had given the Home Secretary the support that he claims were made in PEACE NEWS last week by members of the Methodist and Unitarian Churches, the Presbyterian Church of England, and the Society of Friends.

Anglicans, in theory at least, number some 25,800,000, and Roman Catholics, over 2,000,000. Among the Free Churches, Methodists count the greatest number of members with 2,800,000; Congregationalists come next with 1,020,000; then Baptists with 890,000 and Presbyterians, 500,000.

## Former Clergyman Who Fought War

### DEATH OF BART DE LIGT

From a Correspondent

THE death is reported of Bart de Ligt, of Holland, one of the greatest exponents of anti-militarism, who was for many years a member of the Council of the War Resisters' International.

Though his name was little known to the layman, his influence was wide. His attitude to life had very much in common with that expressed in *Ways and Means* by Aldous Huxley, of whom he was a great friend and adviser.

Even in his youth as a theological student in Leyden, Holland, he was attracted by socialism as expounded by Domela Nieuwenhuis to whose anarchist teachings he was to add so many valuable facets in later days.

### IMPRISONED

As a clergyman he was one of the founders of the Christian Socialist Movement in Holland which claims strong non-violent convictions on religious grounds, especially during the World War.

Bart de Ligt became widely known as one of the greatest clergymen of his day in Holland, stating his pacifist principles from the pulpit, undaunted by the general feverish atmosphere of fear and patriotism which induced so many of his socialist friends to reverse their attitude in regard to internationalism and anti-militarism.

He was imprisoned several times and was banned from his home town of Nuenen, Holland, as this was situated near the frontier and was under the direct command of military authorities.

### ABANDONED CHRISTIANITY

As a result of a wide study of philosophy, in particular that of India and China, he finally abandoned Christianity in search of a more satisfying, all-embracing faith.

After the World War he went to live in Switzerland devoting all his time to the study, development, and explaining of the background of non-violence, keeping in close touch with others thinking along similar lines in all countries of the world.

Gandhi's non-violent resistance was to him a vivid example of how war could be effectively resisted. His latest book, *The Conquest of Violence*, recently translated into English, may be regarded as a symposium of the methods available to war resisters.

### STOOD FIRM

Positive, constructive thought was all to him and, while appreciating the influence of economic forces, the main hope for socialism, according to him, consisted of a sense of the high moral responsibility of the individual.

His singleness of purpose was also apparent in his attitude during the recent Spanish War, when many of those with whom he worked in Holland abandoned the pacifist position and supported the policy of supplying arms to the Spanish Government. Bart de Ligt consistently taught that that was not the right way.

He had been in ill health for several years, and passed away in a nursing home in Nantef, France. The cremation service took place in Paris on Wednesday, when Mr. R. H. Ward represented the Peace Pledge Union.



# T.U.C. AND ARMS SPEED-UP

## Citrine on Discussions with Premier

**F**OLLOWING are points from the speech in which Sir Walter Citrine, General Secretary of the Trades Union Congress, introduced the subject of trade unions' attitude to rearmament at this year's congress in Blackpool on Tuesday.

The international situation at the time when the Government approached them on the acceleration of rearmament "made every one wonder just how long it would be before a European war commenced."

"Our whole attitude was that we were convinced that it was necessary to stand up to the aggressors."

The Prime Minister's statement to the General Council "dealt very fully... not only with the strength of Great Britain but of her probable allies too. It also dealt with the capacity of the potential aggressors in Europe, and here the Prime Minister made it clear from which quarter aggression was most likely to come. It has been common knowledge in this Congress that step by step aggression was threatening us from the dictatorship States."

None would "admit that our Government was blameless in this matter. They misjudged the situation very badly."

### NO PLEDGES

The Prime Minister made it plain "that the practical means of carrying out the rearmament programme was essentially something for the employers, the trade unions, and the Government to arrange between them." There was no suggestion that it was the council's function to take any action in that direction.

No pledges whatever were asked for, and none was given. All that was sought was a general intimation from the General Council of its good will.

The Premier was told that no union "would regard with equanimity the prospect of having to surrender any trade union practice whatever."

Organizations concerned were immediately consulted, and given the fullest possible statement. "Not the least breath of criticism was raised about anything the Council had done."

On March 25 the council placed on record in a resolution "its conviction that in dealing with any Government on behalf of the trade union movement its conduct must be determined by industrial and not political considerations," and that acceleration of rearmament was regarded "as exclusively a matter for the trade union movement."

The Labour Party was told of this resolution, and a consultation took place about certain aspects of foreign policy. Labour Party spokesmen said the resolution "embodied their views and those of the Parliamentary Labour Party who were present at that meeting."

On April 27 the council decided to send to the Premier the letter on rearmament which had been published, asking him to receive the deputation which was arranged for May 26.

On May 25 employers suggested to trades unions certain specific measures for dilution of labour, but the council had no intimate knowledge of this when it met the Premier.

### INFORMATION NEEDED

"It was impossible for the council to divide itself into intertongued compartments, and therefore it asked the Prime Minister to consider their disquiet on the political core."

The real question was how best the council could do what was desired. "We say that we must have access to the maximum of information on the subject to enable us to survey the resources of the engineering industry."

It was impossible even now to judge whether the employers' claim was not merely for dilution for rearmament or for dilution for ordinary commercial work.

"We are convinced that if the resources of industry are properly mobilized, and if firms now doing no war work whatever and men doing redundant work are brought into some well-considered scheme, no dilution would be necessary."

No-one had been committed by the action of the council to anything.

## League Reform Due for Discussion

### FACTS ABOUT WORLD TRADE

The report of the Committee of Twenty-Eight on League Reform is one of the most important items on the agenda for the League Assembly which will meet at Geneva on Monday. The Council was due to meet yesterday.

In addition to the reports to the Assembly, which were summarized a fortnight ago, there will be a report to the Council on the work of the Committee of Statistical Experts. This is published by Allen & Unwin (League of Nations Publications Department), price 1s.

Also obtainable now is the volume entitled *World Production and Prices, 1937/38*. This has a wider scope than previous editions, and its form has been somewhat modified.

An interesting feature is a summary of the principal facts brought out in the various chapters. This shows that, as compared with 1929, world primary production in 1937 was ten

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WHITEHALL THEATRE — Whi 6692

Evenings 8.30. Matinees, Wed. & Sat. 2.30

### GLORIOUS MORNING

by Norman MacOwan

THE MESSAGE OF THIS PLAY, DELIVERED WITH BLAZING SINCERITY AND STRENGTH, IS THAT "THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM IS THE CAUSE OF GOD."

## Hitler's Claims for Nazism

### ECONOMICS OF "REGENERATION"

**I**N his proclamation to the Nazi Congress, read on the second day of the congress in Nuremberg on Tuesday, Herr Hitler contrasted Germany's position in 1920—"trampled down, despised, and dishonoured"—with that of today, when the reunion of Greater Germany was being celebrated.

If Germany was to win back her position in the world, old parties had to be exterminated, the classes had to be abolished, all parasites had to be eradicated, the eternal values of blood and soil must be made dominant factors in German life, and "the international Jewish enemy of the world" had to be fought. Everything had to be brought to bear on the one object of national regeneration.

Point by point of the party's programme, claimed Hitler, had been fulfilled:

The State [he said] has complete authority. powerful defence forces protect the Reich on land, sea, and in the air, the economic system secures the independence and freedom of the German people, and the cultural activity is devoted to promoting the beauty and greatness of the nation.

At the same time it was possible "to loosen one bond after another of that treaty which was designed to annihilate our people for ever."

The return of Austria into the Reich presented a definite problem for the coming year. Economic assimilation and adaption was making fast progress. By the end of next year there would be no unemployed in the new section of the Reich.

### ECONOMIC SITUATION

At present Germany was only troubled by two real economic difficulties: the shortage of labour, particularly skilled labour for industry, and that of agricultural labour.

If this were interpreted in other countries as a welcome sign of economic weakness, said Hitler, they could "bear this weakness and leave the force of unemployment to democracies."

Their freedom from other economic difficulties he attributed to:

1. A rich harvest, which, combined with reserves, relieved Germany of all anxiety about foodstuffs for years; (nevertheless they would accumulate a "reserve which in all circumstances will save us from shortage");

2. Success of the Four-Year Plan, which would now enable manual labour to be replaced as far as possible by machines.

### FINANCE & PRODUCTION

Turning to problems of finance and production which had been involved in removing unemployment, Hitler said Germany's enemies had saved her "from the insanity of so-called gold currency and thus of gold coverage". Consequently stability of currency could be secured by increasing production. He went on to explain this theory in these words:

For every additional mark that is paid out in Germany the equivalent value must be produced. Failing that, the mark issued is a piece of paper without value because it has no purchasing power, owing to the lack of corresponding production.

The "simple and natural but unfortunately often unpopular principle" that increased wages could only result from increased production had become the common property of the German people.

This system, he claimed, presented a picture of steadily increasing production and consumption, with a stable currency, "while in the democratic countries wages and prices are rising simultaneously, but the pace of production is decreasing." The raising of the national standard of living was only possible through planned economics.

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percent higher, the output of crude foodstuffs six percent, and of industrial raw materials nineteen percent, while world visible stocks of primary commodities were six percent lower. The concurrent increase in world manufacture amounted to about twenty percent. But a simultaneous decline in the international exchange of commodities was reflected by a decline of three percent in the amount of world trade from 1929 to 1937.

By a Czech

# RIGHT & WRONG ON BOTH SIDES IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

By PREMYSL PITTER

Council member of the War Resisters' International, and Honorary Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation in Czechoslovakia.

### Not a

### Nationalist View

**T**HE author of this article describes himself as "one who is very often attacked by his countrymen for not being 'national' enough."

"I hope," he writes, "I shall be trusted not simply to defend the interests of my nation in these critical notes; for it is not a 'Czech view' that I want to give: every purely nationalist view is biased by passion."

"It is necessary to show the facts as they are, the German case and the Czech case, but as seen with a clear mind. This was very ably done in the article 'Why it is a Danger Spot' in PEACE NEWS of June 1."

the tension and leads further away from peaceful settlements.

What we need above all is a friendly spirit able to love and understand all and find a solution that will bring better times to the whole human community. Surely it is a gross mistake, in our already too divided Europe, to work for more divisions and sever the contacts of "nine races in one State."

### KEY TO THE SOLUTION

It is another mistake to expect from frontier revisions a permanent settlement of all the acute nationality problems. The ethnographic demarcation lines are not as straight and plain as a small map shows it: there are many quite unnatural windings and small linguistic islands that will always make it impossible to find an absolutely just and practicable solution along those lines.

The key to all these nationality problems is not in the frontiers, but in overcoming them. We need closer contacts and cooperation between neighbouring nations, a drawing together into bigger unities, inside which frontiers will have no other functions than those dictated by the necessities of administration.

Not one of the small nationalities of Central Europe is able to live in splendid isolation, however much its nationalists may boast about sovereign rights and self-sufficiency.

The breaking up of old Austria-Hungary was made necessary by the unwillingness of its rulers to understand the developments of its peoples, but economically it was a great blow to all the peoples concerned, the Czechs as well as the Slovaks, the Hungarians, the Germans of the Sudetes and of Austria.

### WHERE WILL IT END

Unfortunately the nationalists will not learn the lesson: they go on dividing and shutting their countries up more and more and do not realize that they are strangling them. Instead of thinking in terms of the common welfare, they blunder on in their misleading selfish quest, taking away one population from one rule only to bring it under another possibly worse, and not caring whether by so doing they are putting others in a more dangerous situation.

Where is there going to be an end in this struggle of national dignities against each other? If we pacifists are also going to take up this endless game of playing up one nationalism against another, who will be left to show the vision of the kingdom of God in which all peoples shall live as one fraternal family? Whatever the near future may bring there is no real solution besides the cooperation of all.

It can never be our job to divide. Our job is to draw together and unite, spread mutual understanding and respect. Those working with hatred and division will probably reach their goal sooner, but let us not be shortsighted and of little faith: our holy task is at all times, even when tempests are roaring, to prepare it by the seed of understanding and love.

**A**NYONE trying to understand both sides in Czechoslovakia will find that the situation is not as simple, nor the right solution as clear as Nagy Ivan made out in his articles in PEACE NEWS.

Many Czechs realize today, and President Benesh said it publicly some time ago, that the Czechoslovak Government has made mistakes in its policy toward the Sudeten Germans. But it would not be fair to dwell on these mistakes without pointing out their psychological root. The Czechs, ruled for three centuries by a German autocratic government—that of the Hapsburg—could not suddenly get rid of their natural, often unconscious, resentment, though reconciliation was really well on the way before Hitler took power in Germany.

Besides one must admit that living under Hapsburg rule was no training in democracy for the Czechs, so that it is a wonder in a way that the young reborn nation managed to realize some measure of democracy and to give its minorities a fair amount of freedom.

I have never been satisfied myself with this amount and have always stood for better relations with the minorities and for the removal of all real grievances. I consider it as absolutely false, however, to picture the present situation as a "Czech prison" and to quote as pure gold the propaganda exaggerations of such extremist bodies as the Henlein Party, and the much less important so called Slovak Council.

They are not reliable, not only because they do not give the whole truth, but chiefly because they are dictated by hatred. To anyone with a wider knowledge of Central European conditions, a Hungarian's plea for giving the Slovaks more freedom is very strange, to say the least of it, for Hungarian rule before the War gave them very much less. There is something not quite frank about it.

The same lack of frankness we find in Henlein's criticism that Czechoslovakia has not developed into a second Switzerland. In reality he does not want a "Switzerland" where ethnographic divisions are of no importance, but a racial and administrative unity of the Germans.

### FEAR EXPLAINS POLICY

I do not blame the Sudeten Germans for having recently developed a consciousness of their *Volksgeist*; it seems to be a natural phase in the evolution of the peoples. The Czechs went through it in the nineteenth century and now they live in great fear of losing the fruits of their national unity. This fear often explains their policy.

National feelings are not bad in themselves, and free room should certainly be given to all to develop their national character. But do not let us listen blindly to nationalist feelings that are being misused to break up the solidarity of the larger human family.

It would be tedious to try to refute all the misleading and even erroneous assertions contained in the articles by Nagy Ivan: assertions about the Sudeten Germans having a higher culture than the Czechs, the Slovaks being one of the minorities in the State, the Czechs being less religious than the Slovaks, &c. These are not really the things that matter, though unkind propaganda of this kind often increases



# Readers Join in Women's Campaign

**T**HERE has been a very good response to my appeal for a draft of an ARP leaflet. Apparently the surest way to arouse a desire to create is to put forward an indifferent creation of one's own.

I shall not be able, individually, to acknowledge the various drafts, but I hope the authors will not mind that. As soon as the results of this mass-collaboration have been sorted and arranged into a leaflet, every one who has filled in a form will receive, before printing, a copy of the final draft.

May I point out here to the more impatient of my correspondents that it is not possible to use ideas and suggestions made in answer to a particular appeal in the issue of the following week. This particular page is written ten or more days ahead of publication.

**A** FURTHER point that needs clarifying is the scope of this campaign. A number of correspondents have regretted that women should be asked to organize separately. In small groups especially this is not a reasonable proposition.

I want to stress that this is entitled "A Women's Campaign" because it is intended to appeal to women, and to recruit women for peace instead of war.

**There is no reason at all why it should be run exclusively by women, no reason at all why groups should split into their sex divisions in order to join in.**

It was never intended to band women of the peace movement together apart from men, but to urge men and women of the peace movement to give their special interest and their special help to the urgent need of providing a counter appeal to the women who are being persuaded to help in war preparations.

I hope that I have made that point clear, and that those groups who have written regretting that they were not large enough to form a special women's section, will realize that there is no need for this before they can help.

**S**EVERAL men have written already offering to do whatever they can, and there has been a heartening number of letters with suggestions for action in the autumn.

The suggestions fall under two main headings: local and central. They are of equal importance.

**It is vitally necessary that local groups should make their own suggestions for work in their own district; they know the possibilities and the requirements.**

In one district meetings may be the best way of attracting attention, in another a demonstration on market day may be possible. One district may need leaflets, another posters; one may need the sociable attractions of an entertainment and play, another may prefer a debate.

Local committees should decide what is most likely to attract women in their neighbourhood, and make their own plans. If they need help, posters, leaflets, speakers—they can be given from the centre.

**C**ENTRAL activities are of another kind. It is not good sense to describe them, since they need to be as surprising, colourful and noteworthy as imagination can make them.

There are already two suggestions for putting the women's campaign on the map. When they are fully worked out those who have indicated their willingness to help will be given details.

Those who have agreed to keep relevant press cuttings will, in the next few days, receive a card telling them from which papers to send cuttings. There has naturally been a good deal of overlapping. The most useful papers to offer are the small local papers which are not readily obtainable out of each particular district.

M.S.

## A Woman's Point of View

# War and Unemployment

**S**OME time ago, commenting upon a recent article by Caecilia E. M. Pugh, a letter appeared in this paper stating that:

The pacifist task is to abolish war and not unemployment. War is the greater danger and tragedy and must be got rid of before other urgent social problems can be solved.

This question of finding the correct pacifist attitude to social evils is a most important one, and one which must be solved if pacifism is to make any real headway.

The thought expressed in the paragraph which I have quoted is in a sense an attractive one. War certainly is the greater danger and tragedy. But to state that it must be got rid of before other urgent social problems can be solved, is to miss the whole significance of the relationship between war and social happiness.

**I**F we were able immediately to abolish war from the social structure as it exists, could we be sure that unemployment would vanish? I can see no logical reason for supposing so.

**But if we were able immediately to solve the question of unemployment throughout the world: it is not evident that we should have gone a long way toward removing war?**

It is precisely because the German nation, during the last twenty years, has passed through agonies of poverty, starvation, and industrial stagnation, that, as a nation, Germany is bitter enough and desperate enough to follow her leaders into another war.

True, her sufferings have been caused by a previous war; nevertheless, had a policy of justice and reconciliation, aimed at solving her "urgent social problems," been followed, the cycle might have been broken.

Even now it is not too late. To recognize Germany's economic needs, and to satisfy them, is Europe's hope for peace.

The Van Zeeland Report aimed at removing world trade restrictions and thereby at reducing world poverty and world unemployment. Because it was recognized that such a policy must tend toward peace the report is receiving the thoughtful support of many pacifists.

**T**HERE is yet another point to be considered. There are numbers

of men and women who, loathing war wholeheartedly, would be prepared, and are indeed anxious, to renounce war. But, seeing so much unemployment and poverty around them, they feel that the time may come when a war whose aim was the abolition of this poverty might be the lesser evil.

More bluntly, the experience of unemployment is so embittering that it leaves a man little room for abstract and philosophical pacifism.

The writer of the letter I referred to also said "unemployment is a comparative term. Very few are chronically unemployed except because of mental or physical disability, and conversely, very few are so fully employed that they have no leisure."

If the above were true the world's social structure would be perfectly organized and perfectly just. There would be nothing to fight for and nothing to fight against.

**It cannot be sufficiently strongly emphasized that the pacifist who cherishes such illusions cannot make much progress toward his avowed aim—the removal of war.**

There are too many people who, lacking the experience of grave social evils, minimize them. There are too many who over-simplify their thinking and believe that war can be isolated and treated as a separate and unrelated evil.

You are on the way to a solution of a problem when you attempt to grasp its intricacies.

**T**HERE are numbers of well-meaning men and women, convinced of the evil and futility of war, yet unwilling to see the full implications of pacifism. They belong to a movement which, if it succeeds, has to revolutionize society. That needs to be understood.

It is not possible to remove war as a surgical operation removes a diseased organ. You cannot remove war and expect the rest to follow.

Pacifism has to change the social order. War is a product of the existing social order, and the pacifist who is to do his job must recognize it as such. He must realize that he is a revolutionary, neither a comfortable nor a safe thing to be.

M.S.

## Practical Pacifism and Unemployment Problems—7

# NEW BEGINNINGS IN THE EAST END

**I**T is easy enough to enumerate again and again the ills that so constantly and persistently beset the human race, and to dwell somewhat morbidly upon the futility of human effort to effect any change vital enough to overthrow the forces of evil.

By far the more difficult task is to determine the source of this evil: then to discover and work out, in terms of spiritual values and human relationships, a philosophy comprehensive enough to meet every problem involved in the art of living the good life.

Many of us believe that the secret of this abundant life has been revealed in all its fullness, through the life and teaching of Christ: when men begin to behave according to the truths revealed in his life, an end will be made of war and hatred, selfishness and exploitation.

Much, indeed, has been done during the past twenty years to cope with the wreck-

**T**HOSE who have visited the Community of the Way in Bow (London, E.3), will have seen practical evidence of the courageous venture described here.

Mary Osborn believes that "abundant life was meant for all," our troubles spring from our lack of love. Hence this story of practical pacifism.

age of the last war, the problem of peace-making, and the stress of unemployment. Much has been done in the whole cause of the dispossessed—their spiritual, mental, and physical well being.

This work, undertaken by a network of official and voluntary organizations, has achieved much that is creditable. But, within the hearts of many people with a concern for the real needs of others, there is still a consciousness that the task has not yet been adequately tackled. For the most part it has been a superficial patching up of a system basically wrong, and resulting so often in a weakening of effort (through life being made just bearable) on the part of those enslaved by its iniquities.

**B**UT what better method do we who call ourselves peace-minded know, and upon which principles can we build?

Surely the good life must begin with the recognition of the fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man, the interdependence of peoples throughout the whole world; the acceptance of the belief that abundant life was meant for all and that the roots of all social, political, industrial and religious disorders spring from the same origin—namely lack of love somewhere.

**It means the acceptance of a spirit of peace and cooperation, which is no longer content with the false and stupid barriers which man has set up between himself and his fellow-men, nor is it content to profit from the exploitation of others, nor to enjoy the luxuries of life while there are countless thousands in every land who lack even the bare necessities.**

It also involves a life of simplicity and the taking upon oneself of the power of love and non-violence, the only legitimate weapons that any follower of Christ can use.

Having considered these broad principles carefully another question comes to mind. Is it possible in the context of the present system to live according to the Sermon on the Mount and still remain in the world? Or does it mean, in the final analysis, a withdrawal from society and the consequent attempt to set up an isolated paradise?

Such a course would undoubtedly, and quite reasonably, be entirely repugnant to those who believe that to embrace life, with all its problems, is a much more Christian (using that word in its real sense) attitude than trying to escape from the consequences of evil.

There are many people today who are convinced that the spirit of community (not expressed in isolation through any one stereotyped pattern but coming to birth through many groups of like-minded people, determined to discover the secrets of abundant life) has a vital answer to these problems and a positive contribution to peace-making.

**S**UCH was the path we travelled preceding the birth of the Community of the Way in East London, the foundations of which were slowly laid through the course of seven years.

We were stimulated in their beginnings by meeting Mahatma Gandhi during his stay in Bow. He, I felt, had achieved this oneness with his fellow men—no gulf lay between his life and theirs, except perhaps in quality and degree, but he had given himself to them without reserve, he had thrown his life away to find it, in taking upon himself his people's sufferings and privations.

Four years later a group of men, together with myself, set out to find an answer to some of the many problems with which all our lives were hedged about. A number of these men had suffered unemployment, with all its ensuing ills, over a long period of years, and among the rest who were in regular employment there was a spirit of bitter disillusionment. They had set out upon life with high hopes and no little enthusiasm, to find themselves beset with all manner of evils, and the inevitable frustration of so many of their dreams of good.

Together we sought a way through and for encouragement turned to the records of the Early Church, to be reminded again that "All that believed were together and had all things common." Here lay an answer to our seeking, the sharing of life in the spirit of community, and the casting aside of all security, save faith in God.

We talked of this way of life for a long time and finally a group of twelve of us (including two unemployed families and five children), decided to prepare ourselves for such a venture. We met for study and prayer and work and as we tried to see every aspect of life in terms of real values, a new joy was born in our hearts.

Then followed the search for a home. This was not easy, for while we felt it was right to move to the country, near to the things created by the hand of God, we did not wish in any sense to be cut off from our fellow-men.

At last we found an old inn, in the heart of a village in Buckinghamshire and prepared ourselves for the exodus.

When, however, the time came to move, events happened which clearly indicated that the foundations had not been as surely laid as we had hoped. This situation brought about a period, not merely of disappointment, but of intense spiritual darkness, until we realized that the weakness lay, not in the ideal, but in ourselves.

One course lay before us—to pick up the threads and begin anew, just where we were, with a willingness to lay our foundations all over again.

**L**AST November we began by renting three rooms in Bow as a centre for our activities.

One of these rooms we converted into a workshop for the development of the crafts which had been a feature of the original scheme—spinning, weaving, carpentry, toy-making, needlework, and printing—in order that we might express something of this spirit through the things we were capable of creating, and that we might put the community on a self-supporting basis as quickly as possible.

Our decision to stay in Bow stimulated new interest and soon we found ourselves a family of twenty. During the past months the community has of its own accord divided into two groups—those who, having faced all the implications involved in accepting this way of life, are prepared to embark upon it, and those who are willing to help while we are here, but who do not feel prepared to take the final step.

Through prayer and study and work we are being welded together as one family. The children, too, are realizing something of the demands that this new life makes upon those who pursue it.

We are full of hope for the future and feel that at last we are ready to venture forth together. Now we are seeking for a more permanent home, within reach of those who may be in need of what little help we have to offer, in the name of God.

**The work before us is limitless and in it lie the essentials of peace-making—bringing back into the world-wide family those who, for many reasons, feel themselves to be beyond the pale of human society, unwanted and almost forgotten, together with those who, having tasted the fruits of this world's riches, desire to turn aside to the life of simplicity and service, that we may all be one.**

Meanwhile, our days are never monotonous. They alternate between joys and difficulties, order and chaos, plenty and poverty, in the realm both of spiritual and material things. But we are conscious of a new life struggling to birth in our midst, and we cannot but be full of gladness.

Mary Osborn

**NEXT WEEK: A Working Man's Outlook by Bert Shipley.**



Ernest H. Fletcher

remembers:

## The Birth of the

## War Resisters' International

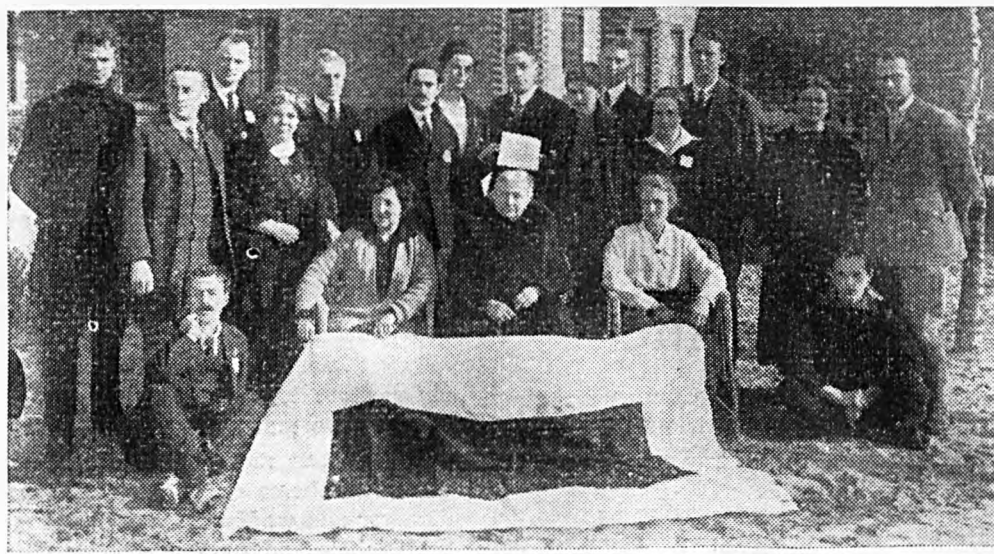
IN March, 1921, there met together at Bilthoven, Holland, a small group of men and women from seven countries determined that the issue of war or peace should become a live one in every country of the world.

They determined that those who stood out against all war should no longer perish or suffer in silence, condemned and forsaken by men, but that they should have, in the hearts and arms stretched out to them, the living support of all who believed in their aims or shared in their convictions.

GREAT struggles preceded our gathering together. We were only, as it were, voluntary delegates of numberless individuals who willed this seemingly insignificant conference.

Most of us had known long imprisonment. One, a German doctor, had been put up against a wall to be shot by his fellows for war resistance, only at that extreme moment having his sentence reduced.

Another, a French editor, gaining at last his passport from a very reluctant official, received the following blessing on his journey: *Remember, if revolution breaks out in this country you will be one of the first whom we shall shoot.*



The group was photographed at the inaugural conference of the WRI in Holland 17 years ago. The paper held in the centre of the group is the pledge adopted as the basis of the WRI.

Others, rather less favoured, were refused passports by their governments and had to make their way across frontiers, involving thereby the possibility of grave penalties.

Moreover, despite the "war to end war," determined efforts were made by governments, former enemies actually cooperating with one another, to prevent the gathering together of people with intentions such as ours.

HOWEVER, we met, and for the next two or three days drew up a provisional constitution for the movement. Hearing a rumour of possible difficulty, we carried on far into the last night to conclude all the main business.

It was well, for next morning, while on matters less urgent, a number of police trooped in. With inimitable equanimity, our chairman invited them to be seated and to join in the discussions. Rather taken aback, they actually complied, while for the next half-hour or so the conference was brought to a conclusion. But thereupon they sprang up demanding to see our passport credentials, with the result that some of us went to goal. This was a real dis-

appointment, as, with us, they were intending to go on to the International Anti-Militarist Congress at The Hague the following week.

WE had decided not actually to declare a new movement until strenuous endeavours had been made to get the International Anti-Militarist Congress to adopt our absolutist basis.

In this we failed, despite the fact that the president of the congress was one of our own number—Bart de Ligt. So the War Resisters' International began its existence, and many have been solaced in their most difficult moments by its loving and fearless aid and the thought of a world-wide comradeship of whose existence they might not otherwise have known.

One thanks God for the loyalty to conviction and tenacity of purpose of those who have passed on in the struggle and of those still taking part, and for the vision and patient labours of the little office at Enfield. Other ages have had their conquests: the conquest of our age—of our generation, for we dare not leave it to another—must be the subjugation of violence by non-violent international war resistance.

## Parallel Lines Never Meet— Must History Be Like Geometry?

IN the polite columns of *The Times* a professor of history recently pointed out an extraordinary parallel between two speeches made by Canning in 1823 and 1826 and a speech made by Mr. Neville Chamberlain on July 26, 1938.

The two politicians used almost identically the same words. Now, as Canning gets a great deal of praise from the historians and has a big statue in Parliament Square, it is not surprising that some should have thought that a little of his glory was being shed on Mr. Chamberlain. At least Mr. Chamberlain thought so, and modestly wrote to say:

I had never read either of the passages quoted by Professor Temperley, and, as the words were entirely my own and not taken from any brief, they indicate simply the continuity of English thought in somewhat similar circumstances.

What a pity, Mr. Chamberlain! The speeches from which the quotations came are so exceedingly famous, and one at least is mentioned in almost all the books! But then parallel lines never do meet, do they?

Ignore for a moment the "continuity" which compels a politician today, after a century of material progress, still to dip his pen in the same pot, and ask whether this coincidence is of more than academic interest. Surely it is?

### Similarities

Canning, like Chamberlain, was dealing with a Europe which, after long years of war, famine, and disease, could not settle down to peaceful ways.

The Peace Congress of Vienna in 1815, like that of Versailles in 1919, had ignored the hopes and ideals of a new age and driven them underground. They were already emerging—distorted and spoilt by habits of violence learnt from their suppressors.

The Great Powers of Europe were faced with dreadful outbreaks against less powerful governments in Spain, Italy, and Greece. What were they to do? To inter-

vene or not to intervene? Quite a modern question.

Still more modern, when it turned out, as the French politician, Talleyrand, said at the time, "Intervention and non-intervention are diplomatic terms meaning exactly the same thing!"

But what credit does Canning really deserve for his "non-intervention intervention" policy? He declared in the House of Commons, December 12, 1826—and this is one of the quotations made by the professor in *The Times*:

There exists a power to be wielded by Great Britain more tremendous than was perhaps ever yet brought into action in the history of mankind. (Cheers.) But though it may be excellent to have a giant's strength it may be tyrannous to use it like a giant. The knowledge that we possess this strength is our security, and our business is not to seek opportunities of displaying it.

### Strength Was Used

Yet, because that power existed, Canning was constantly using it, or threatening to use it.

On the very day before he made that speech he had dispatched, as the professor did not point out, British troops to Portugal to uphold a democratic government set up by one branch of the Portuguese royal family against the pretensions of another branch favouring, and favoured by, the autocratic Powers in Europe. Publicly he boasted, in this same speech, "I called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old."

It was thrilling, intoxicating—or at least worth paying your taxes, to feel that this nation was so important to the universe.

At the same time Canning was busily intriguing to help the Greeks who were fighting for their independence from the Turks, to help them, that is, by threatening, but never declaring, war on their behalf.

In short, when Canning died, "it is not easy," says his latest historian, Professor Seton Watson, in *Britain in Europe*, "to exaggerate the sensation in Europe: for the eyes of all

fighters for liberty, nationality, and progress had long been turned toward him, and the reactionaries were correspondingly elated."

What brave words! What glory!

But to what did the paths of glory lead? Within eight months of Canning's death the Duke of Wellington had been compelled to withdraw the British troops from Portugal. The autocratic candidate for the throne had already returned and then began a reign of terror in which for eighteen months liberal-minded people of every class were tortured, imprisoned, or executed.

Within three months of Canning's death intervention in Greece resulted in a battle in which a British, French, and Russian fleet destroyed the Turkish fleet. Russia declared war on Turkey, and almost captured Constantinople.

In short, neither in Portugal nor in Greece did Canning's policy of seeking peace under threat of war actually result in peace. But it might have, had Canning lived? Certainly it might, but, in fact, his successors were in such a panic that they completely reversed his policy because they thought it would lead to war!

It is grand, but not wise, to leave your son a magnificent house, if he is too poor to live in it.

### Chamberlain's Policy

And now Mr. Chamberlain. Fortunately for the world, he is neither so adventurous nor so effective. He is more humdrum and less attractive.

Hitler and Mussolini will not leap for joy when he dies! He has been Prime Minister for over a year without becoming involved in European war. In that year he has probably threatened to make war in the cause of peace only twice—in the Czechoslovakian crisis. Undoubtedly, like Canning, he sincerely desires to see the good triumph in Europe without war.

Compare the professor's quotation from his speech of July 26, 1938, with the quotation already made from Canning's, of

## "South Riding" on the Screen

SOUTH RIDING: London Film Production.

APART from the final scene, Victor Saville has made a fine job of this film of Winifred Holtby's novel. Ralph Richardson is excellent as a Conservative landowner Carne, burdened with an insane wife (Ann Todd) and a highly-strung daughter. The plot is mainly concerned with his constant opposition to a socialist Councillor Askell (finely played by John Clements), and with his gradual love for Edna Best, who makes a good modernist headmistress, Sarah Burton.

Edmund Gwenn is superb as a sanctimonious humbug, Councillor Huggins, who, having previously purchased the intended site, supports socialist schemes for housing reform merely to enrich himself. Fortunately, Sarah, Carne and an alderman (Marie Lohr) expose the scheme, and Carne hands over his mortgaged estate for the slum clearance plan and a new school.

Mrs. Carne conveniently dies, so that her husband is free to marry Sarah. As a finale there is a mayoral coronation speech and mass singing of *Land of Hope and Glory*, the only incongruous note being the sight of the socialist councillor singing "Wider yet and wider."

PATRICK RICHARDS

## Mr. Lansbury's Message

IT came as a welcome relief from endless reviews of war preparations to see and hear Mr. Lansbury in the Gaumont British News on the eve of his departure for Central Europe on behalf of the Embassies of Reconciliation.

Mr. Lansbury said:

*I propose to the statesmen of the world that instead of waiting for the catastrophe of war they should meet now, at once, round the table and discuss how to remove the causes of war. War is a futile, barbarous, senseless thing.*

*If you had a great plague in the world you would get down to the causes. You would not only feel for the victim, but you would take good care to get rid of everything that made plague possible. I want that principle applied to war.*

*War is a man-made evil and can be moved by man. The peoples of the world must compel their statesmen to come together as sensible men and remove the causes of war and not prepare to destroy civilization.*

December 12, 1826. Mr. Chamberlain said: But, while the tremendous power we are accumulating remains there as a guarantee that we can defend ourselves if we are attacked, we are not unmindful of the fact that, although it is good to have a giant's strength, it is tyrannous to use it like a giant.

But the "giant's strength" means the armament industry. Peace would kill the armament industry, and armaments will ultimately kill peace. Is the doom of Mr. Chamberlain's policy therefore inevitable? Is history like geometry?

Hope lies in the difference between Canning's qualities and Chamberlain's. There is happily no glory about Mr. Chamberlain's policy to compensate for the horror of living under perpetual fear and threat of war.

For even horror, long drawn out, will end in boredom. Long may Mr. Chamberlain live to bore us!

At the moment the official opposition comes from a Labour Party which seems to favour a policy at least as adventurous as Canning's. But that mood will pass. People will soon realize that armaments and an exciting war-scare for every weekend must be paid for. Paying taxes is boring.

Against that moment the Peace Pledge Union must prepare. When the people of this country are bored with every other policy and every other politician, the Union must be ready with leaders, workers, and a programme original, attractive, and profound enough to relight the fires of imagination and idealism.

"S.D.U."



# HOW YOUTH CAN STOP WAR

## RESIST "DEMOCRATS" WHO COPY FASCISTS

### Call to Youth at World Congress

Despite attempted suppression of the pacifist case at the Second World Youth Congress in New York, the truth that "wars will cease when men refuse to fight" was presented in an eloquent address by Stanford Klein, who spoke on behalf of the War Resisters' International. (A full report of the congress itself appeared in last week's PEACE NEWS).

Following is the complete text of Mr. Klein's speech:

**I** GREET you, the youth of all the world, in the name of the War Resisters' International. The War Resisters' International is an organization of pacifists which has sections in over fifty countries.

We are pacifists because of our political convictions. We realize that war in modern times is futile. The ideas for which we young people fight are not the ideals for which our governments declare war. We fight for democracy: our governments fight for profits!

We war registers have no sympathy with our imperialist capitalist governments because we know that imperialism and capitalism must expand, and expansion very often requires war.

#### HOW TO HALT FASCISM

We pacifists loathe fascism. Fascism means the elimination of all that we hold dear. It means the suppression of the rights of free speech and free press; it means the liquidation of all working-class organizations—fascism means war!

Fascism, we are convinced, must be stopped. How can this be done?

We are told that an alliance of democratic peace-loving nations will stop fascism. This argument might be considered if one could point out any of the large democratic nations which are really democracies.

The peace-loving democracies are profit-loving democracies:

Witness the French oppression and exploitation of her colonies and her suppression of independence movements in Algeria and other colonies.

Witness the cruel and undemocratic processes which England has made use of to defeat Indian nationalist movements.

Witness England's present policy of playing Franco and the loyalists against each other in order to prolong the war as long as possible since a victory by either side would not be to her best interests.

Witness the violent American protests over Mexican expropriation of the oil lands.

Witness the American support of fascist dictatorships in Cuba and Brazil which can exist only with American sanction. I assure my South American friends that I am extremely happy that unlike the speaker you heard last night, I can find no words of Secretary Hull to quote you in the cause of peace and democracy. The words of our learned Secretary of State are meaningless unless they are accompanied by action in harmony with them.

I could give you many more illustrations, but I hope that these will suffice to show you that democracies are interested in preserving profits, and will, if the opportunity of a war presents itself, institute fascism in their own countries in order to more successfully prosecute the conflict.

#### YOUTH CAN STOP WAR

We pacifists call upon the youth of the world to disclaim its faith in imperialist governments as a force for peace. The task of destroying fascism lies with the students and working people of the world.

Our solidarity on international lines is the strongest bulwark against fascism. We must use non-warlike weapons such as the strike and the boycott. We must protest against the shipment abroad of all arms and munitions.

We must agitate for the reduction and eventual elimination of all arms expenditures. We must oppose all forms of compulsory military training. We must oppose with all our might the imperialism of our governments.

Wars will cease when you get rid of exploitation and inequalities. Wars will cease when you refuse to fight!



Photo by]

An amusing moment at the summer school, in France, of the International Peace Academy. From left: Wilfred Wellock, Dr. Har Dayal (chairman), Harold Bing, Dr. J. Groeneveld (of Amsterdam), and Pastor von Greyerz.

## CHALLENGE OF RANGOON RIOTS

### A Pacifist on Police Shooting

From a Correspondent

**F**RESH light on the methods used by police to quell the riots in Rangoon is thrown by a letter received from Burma. After describing the use made by "the Burman" of his "long and deadly knife," and dealing with the Burmese priesthood, the letter goes on to speak of rioting:

The real cause of the trouble was the publication of a book by a Burmese-Moslem (an odd mixture) which ridiculed the Buddhist religion. A party a thousand strong, headed by some with knives and sticks, went down from the pagoda to the town to "remonstrate" with the publisher.

The police tried to dispel the crowd, but came in for a fusillade of stones from behind the walls, and one native policeman was killed. He was an Indian, and so in a flash it was Moslem, Indian, and Burmese against each other, wherever encountered.

The writer of the letter admits that her "pacifism is very much challenged by the fact that the riots were quelled only by the police being given permission to fire on any group of more than five refusing to disperse." This the police did freely, adding considerably to the death roll.

#### INGREDIENTS OF WAR

The writer adds:

The other day one man here baited my husband to the point of unendurance to me. My husband's lack of response and silence made me furious. . . . I felt it necessary to defend my husband (who, incidentally, is quite able to defend himself, and did it, in this instance, most effectively by silence) and was ashamed of my intense desire to hit the man.

It has made me realize clearly that so long as I have hatred and anger, and the desire to hit either to defend myself or others, I have all the ingredients of war within myself, and my professed pacifism is meaningless unless I have love for the unlovely and unloving, and am free from all desire to hurt, retaliate, strike, or quarrel. These things happening just now have made me realize that the individual's reactions to the situations in life are important.

#### British Responsibility

The conclusion that the blame for the Rangoon riots "lies upon us, because in making Burma part of India, we opened it to an Indian incursion," was reached by Maurice Collis in a recent article in *Time & Tide*.

Mr. Collis, author of *Trials in Burma*, was a member of the Indian Civil Service for 23 years and was District Magistrate in Rangoon in 1929 and 1930.

In his article he pointed out that Indians are foreigners in Burma, but occupy a position "which the Burmese consider is inconsistent with the fact that Burma is the home of the Burmese."

#### INDIAN COMPETITION

The British conquest of Burma proper beginning from 1852, had been followed by an inrush of Indians, who found the country less densely populated and with

greater resources than their own, and established themselves in trade. The arrival also of a labouring class of Indian meant competition which the Burmese were unable to meet, on account of the Indians' lower standard of living. "We intensified the situation," wrote Mr. Collis, "by appointing Indians to the Burma services because they were ready trained."

Eventually Rangoon became the Indian metropolis of Burma. "The Burmese," said Mr. Collis, "were no more than a community in the capital of their country, and the least wealthy community at that. The English were the richest, but they were few in numbers; the Chinese, who had also come in, being Buddhists and because they inter-married with the Burmese, were seemingly less foreign. It was the Indians in their various sections, Hindu, Moslem, and Parsee, who appeared the most undesirable."

#### BURMESE HATE POWER

Since then Burma has been separated from India. But although the Burmese have political power, they cannot now turn out the Indians, particularly as India has an economic "whip hand" over Burma, since it is the market for the latter's rice.

The Indians themselves are not to blame, declared Mr. Collis, for it was upon the British that the responsibility lies of having opened the country for their entry in the first place, which has now resulted in their present disproportionate share in the commerce of a country not their own.

#### SPAIN STILL A CHALLENGE

The pamphlet *Spain: A Challenge to Pacifism*, written by H. Runham Brown shortly after the outbreak of the war in Spain, sold out so quickly that a second edition was published. This was quickly exhausted, and, with the war still raging, it is appropriate that a third edition should now be published.

The pamphlet was written after many requests had been received for a definition of the position of the War Resisters' International in connexion with the Spanish war. It was impossible to ascertain the views of the International as a whole, but Mr. Brown put down his personal views, which, he had reason to believe, were shared by many.

Copies are obtainable from the War Resisters' International at 11, Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex, price 2d.

## NEHRU AND NON-VIOLENCE

Commenting on Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's tour of Europe, Harijan, Mr. Gandhi's weekly, declared that "no-one could have failed to notice its extraordinary triumph," and continued:

Wherever he has gone he has made everyone look up to him as the accredited representative of India pledged to win complete independence, and to win that independence not by violence but by non-violence.

He has had hostile listeners and hecklers too, but his ready wit and manly bearing have silenced them all. One incident, out of the numerous he must have had at these meetings, is worth notice.

Most of our youths run away with the idea that Pandit Jawaharlal is opposed to non-violence; and, as soon as he mentioned the Congress policy of non-violence at the Left Book Club meeting in Queen's Hall in London, one of the Indian youths shouted "Shame," expecting perhaps that it would find a responsive echo in the distinguished speaker's mind.

But fancy his discomfiture when Pandit Jawaharlal came down upon him and said: "It astounds me that anybody should imagine peaceful methods a shameful thing. The non-violent policy has not been passive but dynamic. It has brought tremendous pressure to bear on the Government and has given the Indian people self-reliance, faith, and common action."

## Friends to Open Centre in China

### AID FOR REFUGEES

By a PEACE NEWS Reporter

**T**HE Society of Friends has decided to open a centre in China from which work among refugees may be undertaken.

The influence which Friends have in China and Japan was stressed by Harry T. Silcock, when he addressed a meeting in Friends House, London, last week.

He had just returned from a tour of the two countries on behalf of the Society of Friends and of the Universities China Committee, and was outlining proposals which he intended to bring before the Friends' Far East Emergency Committee.

"Friends hold, as it were, the key round Shanghai," he said, "where the suffering is so appalling."

Mr. Silcock said that it had already been suggested that Friends should open a centre in Shanghai, and he was going to propose that the centre should undertake work among the refugees. The work could start in Shanghai itself, which he described as a city in which trade had almost ceased, and gradually expand into the occupied areas.

#### ENTHUSIASM

During his travels his proposal had been greeted with enthusiasm, and one offer of assistance had come from a student in India, where there was a growing concern for the work.

Mr. Silcock paid tribute to the Chinese students for the way in which they were carrying on under present conditions. "They are the right kind of men to rebuild China in the times that are coming," he said.

The Chinese Ambassador, who was also on the platform, said that the needs in China today were both material and spiritual. All over the world there was such a wave of suspicion, fear, and hatred, that unless the Christian spirit could be organized to counteract those feelings civilization was in danger.

The meeting was presided over by Major-General Sir Neill Malcolm, chairman of the Universities China Committee.

## TWELVE RELIGIONS AND MODERN LIFE

By HAR DAYAL, M.A., Ph.D.

2/6 Post Free.

Mr. H. G. WELLS: "I find it a useful summary."

Mr. ARTHUR WRAGG: "A grand book, and so very useful."

Dr. F. H. HAYWARD, M.A., B.Sc., D.Litt.: "Admirable little book."

"Twelve religions, including Christianity, Judaism and the religions of the East, considered from the standpoint of modern humanism."—(Times Literary Supplement.)

"Dr. Dayal is a man of wide knowledge who has the gift of placing his wise thought at the service of others."—(The Literary Guide.)

MODERN CULTURE INSTITUTE, EDGWARE (Middx.).



# NEW BOOKS

## BEATING THE ANTI-FASCIST DRUM

**The Battle for Peace.** By F. Elwyn Jones. Gollancz. 8s. 6d.

*Reviewed by Phyllis Nichols*

THE title of the book is well chosen, and many ingenious arguments are brought forward to support the paradox that peace can be obtained by war. Where these arguments appear rather thin the author falls back on Mr. Churchill's view that there are worse things than war.

"The struggle against fascism is more than a struggle for peace," writes Mr. Jones on page 139, and again on page 276, "The battle for peace and the battle against fascism are one and the same thing." The reader therefore knows where he stands, and will not be misled by the words "peace bloc," nor hasten to the colours when the big drum sounds in the last chapter.

The book is divided into three parts. Part one, which is by far the longest, deals with the menace of fascism throughout the world. It is a colourful account of terrorist activities, plots, assassinations, murders, executions; but the colour is all called by one name: fascism, or the other version, nazism.

Much is said about the Gestapo and the Ova, but no Ogpu is mentioned. The trials of Krestinsky, Bukharin, and Yagoda are indeed quoted, but with admiration, and the evidence which supports the confessions of these unhappy men is the verbatim report of the court proceedings.

It is easier to fight when one is persuaded of the perfidy of the enemy. No-one knows this better than the fascists, but it is surprising to see the enemies of fascism adopting the same methods.

The fascists exploit the communist bogey by using anti-communism as a cloak for power politics, but is it a very different story to exploit the nazi bogey, using democracy as a cloak for imperialism? That imperialism plays a part in the "battle for peace" is indicated on page 32:

Since the beginning of the onslaught on peace, the National Government has preferred to sacrifice important British interests rather than face the alternative.

And again on page 307: "Vital strategic interests of Britain and France are involved."

The most interesting part of the book is part two, dealing with the opposition to fascism behind the fascist lines. Instances are quoted of how miners in the Saar territory obtained higher wages, and compelled their employers to give up the idea of Sunday work. Other successful stands were made by the Catholics in Kloppenburg and in Frankenholz, when attempts were made to abolish crucifixes from the schools and hospitals. The resistance appears to have been non-violent in character and effective in result.

Part three begins with an attack on the National Government for allowing Britain to submit to blackmail. "Fascism is aggression"; "Progress is anathema to fascism"; "fascism is anti-Christ"; and Mr. Chamberlain is "the devil's advocate." The hatred throughout the book is reminiscent of that which was once directed against the Pope.

The "peace bloc" is then analysed and its strength (from a military standpoint) is found to be superior to the "fascist bloc." It is worth noting that Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, Poland, Yugoslavia, and Switzerland are counted in the "peace bloc" although they have been violently accused earlier in the book of preferring fascism.

"All over the world today two dynamic forces are in conflict: aggression and peace," Mr. Jones writes. "Between these two there can be no cooperation."

But, without cooperation, there can be no peace. Peace-making does not consist of siding violently with one side or the other, but in drawing the best of both sides together—not in making the utmost of political differences but in showing that humanity needs all men whatever their beliefs, whether communist, fascist, Christian, or pagan, in its "battle for peace."

## PAYING THE PRICE

**Cross and Swastika: The Ordeal of the German Evangelical Church.** By Dr. Arthur Frey. Student Christian Movement. 6s.

The particular horror of the present state of things in many parts of the world is that it seems as if the absolute control over life is in the hands of those who possess machine guns and the will to use them.

In totalitarian States the minds of men

are enslaved, both science and art are in fetters, individual freedom has vanished, and he who would protest or rebel knows that a concentration camp, or even death, awaits him.

The nazi steam-roller in particular has destroyed all free association of individual. Masonic lodges, parliamentary opposition, free press, trade unions have all gone. The Fuehrer, through his officials, claims the sole right of directing education and organizing life.

The individual man, as Europe has known him, is gone. Fears keep men silent, even when they are inwardly in revolt. Able and fine spirited men are to be found submitting, and when asked the reason they reply: "Well, you see, we have families." So grim and degrading a thing has life become under that absolute régime.

But one institution has refused to bow before the storm, and has found courage to resist, even though at terrible costs. And that institution is the German Evangelical Church. I am not saying a harsh or uncharitable thing when I say that nazism is absolutely and profoundly anti-Christian, for that is the explicit claim made for it by some of its leading exponents, such as Rosenberg.

What is being presented to the German people as a foundation for their life, and as a substitute for Christianity, is something called "the myth of the twentieth century," which is rooted in race, blood, and soil.

It is very difficult to take seriously anything so fantastic. But it must be taken seriously for it has produced, in that section of the German nation which is allowed to be articulate, a natural megalomania which is a menace to the whole world.

To that fantastic creation the churches in Germany were commanded to bow down. Plainly they could not do so without ceasing to be Christian churches. Therefore they were compelled to face a struggle for their very existence, and to pay a terrible price for having dared to resist a tyrannical State.

The story of that struggle is contained in this book, and that fact alone makes it a book of great importance. It is not written by an ordained minister, but by one who has been in commerce, has studied economics, and is now a journalist.

His book is a singularly unemotional account of the progress of the conflict. Simply and clearly he states the plain facts and leaves it to the reader to realize their intense and profound significance.

Is there anywhere in this world a spiritual force strong enough to resist absolute claim made by a pagan authority? What question could be more momentous? It might truly be paraphrased: "Is there anywhere a chance that man may retain his true dignity and attain his true life, even against modern forms of superstition, brutality, and arrogance."

Many who knew the Lutheran Church and the Reformed Church before this storm burst upon them, must have doubted whether they would prove strong enough to resist, for they had become formal and cold. But once more persecution has proved a life-bringing discipline. Forced back on God, many members of those churches have discovered a new reality in their religion. They have found out afresh that the word of the Lord is not bound, and that God in Christ is still the sovereign power in the universe.

Great things have happened. Those two Churches have experienced a real renewal. They have faced the shame of their division and drawn closer to one another. They have uttered their faith afresh in what is called the Barmen Declaration of 1934, in the spirit of the great confessions. They have resisted open threats and violence. They have also resisted subtly-framed suggestions of compromise made by the Reich Church. They have dared to denounce "The Aryan paragraph," which excludes Jews from citizenship. They have declared themselves "grievously troubled by the fact that in Germany, which calls itself a State ruled by justice, there are still concentration camps, and that the measures taken by the Secret Police are exempt from all judicial investigation." And all this in a totalitarian State.

Of course a great price has been exacted from them. "In 1937, 806 persons—with few exceptions they were ministers—found their way into prison." The best known of them is Martin Niemöller. He was kept in prison without trial for seven months, and though then acquitted he was conducted to a concentration camp where he still remains.

But assuredly the conditions of affairs presses heavily on the life and conscience of the church people. "Vilification of the

Christian Church and its faith is allowed the fullest licence, while, on the other hand, defence of Christian truth and of the honour of the Church is obstructed and prevented.

Yet, as Dr. Frey says, "The significance of the conflict can be underestimated—it can never be overestimated." And further on he writes:

The Church's resistance to the State's totality claim is today the only resistance against which, in the last resort, the omnipotence of world and State must go to pieces. Face to face with the Church, the National Socialist State comes up against its boundary. . . . It is simply a fact that in Germany today freedom of conscience, freedom of thought, and freedom of speech are to be found only in the Church.

Without freedom man is not man. For centuries the main direction of the European struggle has been toward a State composed of free citizens. And now the grim spectre of a brutal tyranny blocks the path toward life for millions.

But the Church remains unconquered. It keeps in trust for the world of the future those truths by which alone men and nations can become great and happy.

Can we pay any sufficient tribute of gratitude and admiration to our brave brothers in the German Evangelical Church?

To the writer of this review pacifism and Christianity are one and the same thing. I wonder whether we pacifists are ready to pay a price for our faith similar to that paid by these suffering German pastors.

A. HERBERT GRAY

## THE REALITY OF WAR

**What Every Young Man Should Know About War.** By Harold Roland Shapiro. Allen and Unwin. 3s. 6d.

If you are a pacifist buy this book and do a friend a good turn by giving it to him; if you are not, buy it and do yourself a good turn.

If you are a pacifist, you probably have a mulish acquaintance who has withstood every argument in the *Encyclopædia of Pacifism*. Buy this book and contrive that it falls into his hands; if, after reading it, he still refuses to renounce war, give up the task of conversion; you have been wasting your time!

If you are not a pacifist you owe it to yourself to discover what is this thing called war to which, by your inaction, you are giving your active consent.

Mr. Shapiro's book is not about pacifism; you will not find the word once in his pages. It is not about any "ism"; there is not a line of theorizing.

It is an accumulation of carefully indexed facts, presented coldly, dispassionately, mercilessly. It puts war under the microscope, and, with all the detached and deadly accuracy of science, exposes the more filthy habits of that gigantic germ which is living parasitically in the bloodstream of mankind.

As I started to read I put pencil marks alongside passages worth quoting. After half a dozen pages I put down my pencil: there were lines right down every page. Here is one passage, however, characteristic perhaps of the grim realism of the book:

A man was brought to regimental aid post with a large thigh wound. . . . While attending him, an urgent message came for the medical officer to go to the front line. On returning to the regimental aid post to finish dressing the thigh wound, a large rat was found making a meal of the exposed tissues, and so loath was it to leave its prey that an orderly was able to kill it with a stick.

If from that you conclude that this book is a studied essay in horror, you are wrong. Mr. Shapiro has one object: to discover what are the facts of war, facts that do not find their way into patriotic pamphlets or books on heroism, and to lay them baldly before his generation—the generation that will be called upon to sacrifice itself in the war of the future that nobody wants.

He asks questions: What may happen to me after I bayonet my enemy in the face?

What will happen to my wounds if I am unable to keep myself clean?

What is mustard gas and what can it do to me?

What shall I do if I feel myself dying from thirst?

What shall I do if my enemy stabs me with a bayonet and is unable to extract it?

If I am an upright person with a high sexual morality is there any assurance of my continuing so during war service?

For his answers he goes to the New York Academy of Medicine and the Association of the Bar of the City of New York. He presents them without comment. Comment is unnecessary.

To the young man who reads this book another question occurs. Is there any cause, however rational, however urgent, however noble, that can justify men in doing these things to each other and to themselves? He needs no reference library to tell him the answer. It's right inside him, crying out for recognition.

NOEL F. COHEN

## INDIA'S END AND MEANS

**The Aryan Path.** Special non-violence number. September. 1s. 6d.

TO pacifists who enjoy some hard and honest thinking I would recommend the September issue of *The Aryan Path*, a theosophical magazine which is given up this month, largely, to nine separate reviews of the reprint of Gandhi's *Hind Swaraj*.

"Abstract," "disturbing," "revolutionary," "enormously powerful," "a spiritual classic"—these are some of the descriptions of this small book given by a socialist, an economist, a social credit believer. There are articles by such interesting writers as C. Delisle Burns, J. Middleton Murry, J. D. Beresford, and Gerald Heard.

There will be found in these many and varied views of Gandhi's message of non-violence, statement after statement which throw up their challenge to those who are thinking along the line of peaceful solution of conflict.

G. D. H. Cole believes that the philosophy of Gandhi can offer nothing to Western civilization. "We shall need leaders," he says, "who are masters of themselves, as Gandhi is, but masters after our Western fashion, which is not his, or India's."

Non-cooperation he thinks, is effective for a people of many millions against a handful of foreign rulers, but he doubts if it would be so against German and Italian airmen massacring Spanish people, or Japanese airmen slaughtering thousands of Chinese. Hating war, he would risk war to stop this.

On one point, all these writers agree, that machinery is not the evil that Gandhi would have us believe, but that the fault lies in those who misuse it. "It is ridiculous," says Mr. Delisle Burns, "to treat as morally good or evil, the mechanism which may be used equally by saints and villains."

Mr. Middleton Murry raises an interesting point when he says that Gandhi must hold the belief that the use of non-violent means by natures, and for ends, still essentially violent, will tend to alter both the natures and the ends.

It is interesting to remember that Richard Gregg in his *Power of Non-Violence* claims that it would be impossible for one who harbours violent desires, to put true non-violence into practice.

Mr. Middleton Murry seems to agree with this, when he says "Is non-violence, *faute de mieux*, really non-violence at all?" and he tries to distinguish between *Swaraj*, established through the doctrine of love, and the Parliamentary *Swaraj*, to which he says Gandhi is devoting his corporate, as opposed to his individual activity.

Mr. Claude Houghton, in his interesting reviews, sets out some of the implications of passive resistance:

Who is the enemy? . . . It is he who incites you to render evil for evil.

To strike a blow "for the right" is to proclaim God's impotence.

To descend to (your enemy's) level, to fight him with his own weapons, is to collaborate with a nightmare.

These phrases are illuminating.

Home rule, thinks Mr. Houghton, is self-rule, and he reads Gandhi's main contention to be that if, and only if, we have inner freedom, nothing and no-one has power over us. "If we become free, India is free."

Irene Rathbone, in her article "What about the children," has obviously thought honestly and long on this question of passive resistance. She desires to have faith in it, but one illuminating sentence shows that she has not yet understood the fundamental principle of it. She asks why Gandhi says nothing about war upon children. She concludes that when the book was written there was no need to ask or answer the question. "There were fewer fiends abroad," she says.

MARY WRAY

## RELIGION AND COMMUNISM

**Is there a Religious Basis for Society?** By Sidney Spencer. The Lindsey Press, 1s.

The author assumes that there is a religious basis for society, and has conducted a very thoughtful argument for that basis. His contention is that the Christian religion provides a condition which should issue in a form of communism based upon love, and he points out quite convincingly the defects which occur in non-religious totalitarian systems of reorganized modern society.

There are two rather glaring defects, however. In the first place, the author can see in traditional and institutional Christianity only reactionary, force, and fails to see that this conception is somewhat of a parody when applied to the history of the Church. There have been bad patches in that history, it is true; but there have been instances where impatient people have rushed in and created more difficulties than they solved.

Secondly, the fundamental question of worship is not touched upon at all. Christianity seems to be regarded by the author as a code of morality, rather than friendship with God in Christ. Only, when mankind realizes the necessity of the worship of God, i.e., acknowledging the worthwhileness of God. Can there be a satisfactory religious basis for society.

R. H. LE MESSURIER



## STONES OF STUMBLING—3

# Why Man Has Failed

**P**UT all those things which are hindrances to true Christianity, but which have come to seem to most of us so right and reasonable and natural, to the test of what lies at the base of Christianity: God the Universal Father, all men sons and brothers.

If then we have not a mind for love and good will beyond the bounds of nationalism, our Christianity is a lie; and nationalistic Christianity has been acting that lie for centuries. It is the same when you come to class-segregation, and the inequality of opportunity which condemns so many to starved and stunted lives, and which society accepts so easily as unavoidable.

God is no respecter of persons. Society is a great respecter of persons. Christianity says riches are a danger. Society says riches are an advantage. Christianity says avoid treasure on earth. Society says seek treasure on earth and make it your main object.

This system, this cult of nationalism, of class, of riches, we reconcile with our consciences. We even take it to church with us, and preen ourselves on it, and when we pray, it colours what we are asking God to give us as our portion in this world.

We have built up for ourselves what is obviously an acquisitive society, in which the acquisition of good is sectional, pushing, competitive, and unequal in its incidence, not by accident but by plan.

And in defence of that acquisitive and competitive society (a society so far removed from the society advocated by Christ) we need war; for we are only defending what seems to be our natural right.

And because we are defending a natural right we give to war and all its horrors a moral sanction.

We even ask Christ to bless it, and give us the victory, even though we are turning our back absolutely on that solution of the social problem which Christ said contained all the law and the prophets.

★ ★

**P**ROFESSING Christians are naively puzzled, or even annoyed and angry, when they are told that war is incompatible with Christianity.

The incompatibility has got into their blood as a tradition, a system; so they can't see that it is wrong. But the incompatibility does not begin with war and outrage and destruction of the weak and helpless; it only ends with it.

If you depart from the Christian ethic of illimitable responsibility of man for his brother man, and adopt another of competition, of rivalry, of acquisitiveness, which recommends itself as "natural," and therefore as right to the average man, then you get landed in the acceptance of things which, by their premises, are right, but by their inevitable results horribly wrong.

And so "self-defence," in an acquisitive society of competition and rivalry, develops inevitably into the acceptance and approval of retaliation, however horrible, of atrocity versus atrocity. The latest development of that process is poison gas, to be loosed on whole populations from both sides alike.

But Christ did not advocate an acquisitive society; and to get back to the bedrock reason of why war (which you think necessary) is a contradiction to Christianity (which you profess), you must examine the structure of the social order which you have traditionally accepted—which is also a contradiction to Christianity, but so much a tradition, and (if you are of the well-to-do) bringing so much comfort, and ease, and recreation—all of which are things to be humanly desired—that it is very difficult indeed for you to regard it as wrong.

★ ★

**B**UT what Christ said about all these things was "Seek ye first the kingdom of God, and all these things will be added unto you." What society has done is to seek these things first, and leave the kingdom of God to find its way afterward.

Final article under the heading

**SPEAKING PERSONALLY**

by *Lawrence Horman*

And the kingdom of God *not* having found its way through that reversal of the right order, many quite conscientious, pious people are peevishly annoyed at being told that we have been impractical and stick-in-the-mud, putting the cart before the horse.

But if we accept that maladjustment as right and natural and proper for Christian acceptance, then it almost inevitably follows that we accept war also. It has been lifted off our individual consciences by the higher authority of

better for it. But a good many others remain, which ought to trouble us, but don't. And we have often been cured of our bad traditions and customs more by our social science than by our Christian consciences.

Slavery, in spite of its supposed necessity in certain climates, was an economic failure; slave-labour was expensive.

National education did not come about from our love of humanity, or a sense of justice to the poor, but because an uneducated nation could not hold its own com-

true house in which God shall make his dwelling with men, must become the headstone of the corner.

★ ★

**W**HEN Christ said that God was a spirit, and that those that worship him *must* worship him in spirit and in truth, he laid down the absolute necessity (for honest worship) of a new order of society, on a new foundation; and that foundation was courageous faith that out of the returning of good for evil good would come, that human nature would so respond.

No nation has tried it; no society has tried it on a national scale. Small groups have tried it, and it has succeeded; put to the test, patiently, adventurously, courageously, it has not failed. And it is man's failure to put it to the test in his social organization for peace and true wealth and progress that continues to make war seem a necessity.

It is no use trying to knock out a compromise with God, if God is love: to have a society which is only half-and-half Christian, and then to be puzzled that the half-and-half (if it is anything like so much) lands you in actions and policies incompatible with the mind of Christ—the bombing of women and children, the dropping of poison gas on whole populations.

If your conception of the ultimate expression of power (for putting things right) is the returning of evil for evil, then you are setting up a direct contradiction to Christ's conception of power which was the returning of good for evil.

★ ★

**T**HE spectacle presented today by modern society, in countries which call themselves Christian—yes, even by the churches themselves in those countries—rather reminds me of the man who (puzzled by the contradictions of life) stated his creed in this fashion:

"Some say there is a God; some say there is no God. The truth probably lies somewhere between these two opinions."

That is really very much the position taken up by modern Christianity over its faith in Christ's revelation of God as love, the father of all; and in the application of that faith to human society. It treats it as only half-true.

It is a strange commentary, not only on all human history, but also on the history of Christianity up to date, that probably far more harm has been done in the world, far more injustice, far more cruelty and oppression, with more far-reaching results of destruction and desolation and hindrance to the coming of God's kingdom on earth, by man's doing of things which he believed to be right (or at least of what he believed he had a right to do), than by doing what he knew to be wrong.

Yet the reason for that is perfectly simple: in spite of Christ's teaching to the contrary he has always believed—he believes still—in the returning of evil for evil as the right cure for things that go wrong, as the true and ultimate expression of power.

We cannot reshape society in a day, or in a generation, for the organized and practical expression of the contrary belief as taught by Christ. The stones of stumbling formed by the things which man believes to be right are going to be far more difficult to remove than those other stones of stumbling—the things which he knows to be wrong.

But as he goes on trying deviously, this way and that, to discover the way to a good life, the greatest of all stones of stumbling in his way will be the stone which he and his builder still reject, the cornerstone offered him by Christ—the true foundation of power, the only fit stone for the setting up of God's dwelling among men—the return of good for evil.

It needs courage, it needs adventure, it needs patience; it may also need trial, suffering, death. It needs faith in Christ.

**R. W. SORESENSEN, M.P.,**

will be the next

writer under the heading

"Speaking Personally."

The first of his three articles

will appear

**NEXT WEEK**



And save us from the white man's bombs.

Drawn by WILLIAM WARBIS

society, tradition, custom.

In the past it was the Church itself, the highest moral authority that man was able to conceive of at the time, which dealt the Christian religion the most deadly blows it has ever received. The Church gave its blessing to the Crusades, declared a Holy War, and so left upon the mind of Christendom the notion that war could be holy.

The Church not only tolerated but gave active countenance to the torture, not only of criminals, and heretics, but of witnesses for the extraction of the truth.

It permitted slavery, on the strength, I suppose, of the Apostle's direction that slaves should submit themselves to their masters. But when he gave that quite Christian advice he never said that Christians should hold slaves; and the thing became so much a tradition that even certain Quakers in the eighteenth century held slaves with a good conscience.

★ ★

**W**E have got that bad tradition off our consciences now, and we are the

mercially against a better-educated one.

Our advance in a national system of sanitation and medical treatment arose from similar causes.

Science has undoubtedly been a stepping-stone for bringing us nearer to the divine common sense which lies at the root of Christ's political economy. And as things are at present, we are far more likely to get an advance toward disarmament from man's growing recognition of the futility and unprofitableness of war than from his moral reprobation of war.

That is only what one should expect from the worldly wise; it is the more natural reaction for their minds to take.

But we should expect a different reaction from the churches, and from professing Christians: with them moral reprobation should come first and foremost, irrespective of considerations of profit or loss; and—as against supposed necessity—there should come faith in Christ's teaching about human nature, in which he said obey the law and the prophets.

And that is still the stone of stumbling which men reject, but which, for the building up of a



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September 10, 1938

## LONG-TERM JUSTICE

AT least one more step has been taken this week in the process of openly bringing the Czech problem down to its fundamentals.

Still treating it officially as a matter of negotiation between itself and the Sudeten German minority, the Czech Government on Monday night decided on new proposals which were described as "definite", which was understood to mean "final". On the same day, having heard the result of HERR HENLEIN's talk with HERR HITLER at Berchtesgaden, the Sudeten German leaders had declared curtly that "all reports go to show that the dispute can be settled only by a comprehensive and rapid realization of the Carlsbad demands."

But "all reports go to show" that the Czech Government's latest concessions, though granting virtually every demand of the Sudetens as citizens of Czechoslovakia, yield nothing on the fundamental issue of foreign policy. Thus it is that instead of waiting for the Sudeten Germans' reply to the Government's new plan, the world has been waiting for HERR HITLER to make a statement at Nuremberg.

What statement could he make but one demanding that the issue be finally and unequivocally decided by a plebiscite among the Sudeten Germans themselves? He could scarcely have agreed to proposals which did not concede anything that he considered the Germans had a right to. And we do not believe that he would deliberately seek a forcible solution (except of course in so far as successful bluff is, in fact, a use of force).

But a plebiscite, especially if conducted on some such lines as that held in the Saar, with impartial supervisors, would be impossible for Czechoslovakia to refuse without laying herself fully open to the grave charge of adding to her sins of the past a cynical determination not to reform now. Nor could such a refusal have the support of any who desire justice.

On the other hand, in supporting the demand that a plebiscite be held now—which, in fact, should have been granted a couple of decades ago—we cannot, if our concern is for justice in the fullest sense, but make it plain that the obvious result must not be exploited for the ends of a particular power policy—*Drang nach Osten* a German economic empire, call it what you will. (Which is not to say that the almost wholly German areas fringing Czechoslovakia would not be better transferred to Germany than left to create endless, and dangerous, friction.) But if, in fact, such a policy proves to be Germany's real aim—and there is every reason to believe it is—she may be counted on to provide a succession of such worthy diversions in order to pursue it unhindered by lack of any moral case.

It is for this reason that the pacifist movement, which sees that ultimately the way to ensure justice is not only to establish it in isolated circumstances where it is threatened or denied, but to remove the underlying economic and political power policies that breed injustices like guinea-pigs, to be at least as persistent in its demand for a reversal of the power system and the substitution of a cooperative international system as in its demand for a belated justice for the Sudeten Germans.

*I well understand the discouragement which I occasionally hear young people express . . . and I feel it is the fault of us, their elders, that we have let things come to such a pass for them.*—JOSEPH P. KENNEDY, AMERICAN AMBASSADOR, IN ABERDEEN LAST FRIDAY.

## "You're Too Young" They Told Him—But He Retorted:

*Your generation had its chance twenty years ago at Versailles—and lost it. We have ours today.*

HE was so very well meaning. His taste in literature would have delighted the heart of Mr. Gollancz and he was a vice-president of the local League of Nations Union. We had been talking about Czechoslovakia.

"You're too young," he said. "You know nothing about the last war. You wait until all your friends have gone, gone to preserve everything you think decent and worth preserving. You'll go in the end."

"I shan't." I was quite sure. "You can't defend anything decent by war. Decency and honour—they're rather out of place when you think of Guernica. I shan't fight."

He smiled. "You've learnt your lesson rather well. But, seriously, do you think you can stop Hitler by emotional speeches and good intentions?"

"You can't prevent fascism by regimenting your own country into the semblance of a fascist State."

"That's no answer."

"I know it isn't," I said. "Though it's

ing at Whitehall and England overrun with storm-troopers. However many faults the last war had, it saved us from that, at any rate."

"At a cost of ten million lives."

"Wasn't it worth it?"

"No," I said. "It wasn't. When you think of the world being turned into hell for four years and of the misery and depression which has been its aftermath—nothing could be worth it."

read Sassoon and Owen and Remarque, though, and I'm hanged if we need another war just to make me more of a pacifist than I am now. You infer that I have no right to be a pacifist until I'm in a position to talk from actual experience of war. But I'm a member of the PPU because I think it possible to avoid my having that experience. I've read Huxley and Heard and Gregg and I believe there is a way out, a way distinct from the forces of fear and hatred."

"DON'T you be too sure about that. You've never experienced armed occupation. If you'd been in the Ruhr after the War . . ."

"But the French got their answer—civil disobedience. And I really must point out that the reason why they were there at all

"YOU'VE read . . ."

He smiled condescendingly. "That's the trouble with you, young man. You've read too much. Your mind's so full of theories and hypotheses that you've escaped from reality. I'm older than you, and, believe me, you'd be well advised to be guided by those who really do know what they're talking about."

"I know, I know. But almost a whole generation was sent to its death in 1914 by those who 'knew what they were talking about.' Why should it all happen again? We don't want war; the young people of Germany don't want war. I've met young Nazis over here on holiday, and they've never shown any inclination to beat up my mother or attack my sister. The only reason why they follow Hitler is because they believe he is showing them a way to peace and a decent standard of living."

"We could win young people all over the world by a bold, clear-cut peace policy. And the people who have it in their power to demand such a policy are the young people of this country, the sons and daughters of those who went to Flanders convinced by so doing their children would never know war."

"Your generation had its chance twenty years ago at Versailles—and lost it. We have ours today. By refusing to fight we could do more for peace, for real peace, than those 600 old men at Westminster can do in centuries."

He looked rather worried for a moment. Then suddenly his face cleared.

"You're too young," he said. "You don't understand. . . ."

## War? We Say "No"

(by a girl aged seventeen)

Youth must speak now. Are we then all afraid?

Dare not one boy, one girl, stand up and cry:—

We who are young are not prepared to die, Your folly with our lives shall not be paid.

You calmly plan for war. Why should we fight

Boys we have learned to love—who love life too?

Clear-sighted youth will not believe it true That murdering is holy, brave, or right.

You who would waste our lives so carelessly—

You worship openly the gods of Hate But we say No—war must not, shall not, be, A bloody end is not to be our fate.

This ghastly, wholesale slaughtering must cease—

How grand it is to live for truth and peace!

D.M.S.

## By TERENCE LANCASTER, aged seventeen

true, nevertheless. The answer is that I believe that the ordinary people of Germany don't want war any more than we do. Nobody wants war. You know that as well as I do. Now, if we could only prove to the Germans that we were in earnest about peace, if we could only do away on our side with armaments and tariffs and quotas and things, then I believe that the ordinary, kindly people of Germany would respond to such an action in exactly the same way as we should."

"YES." He spoke grudgingly. "But what if —"

"What if I found a German attacking my sister?" I finished hopefully.

"No, I know all the answers to that one. But what if you saw German 'planes attacking London? What would you do then?"

"I wouldn't bomb Berlin."

"But you'd surely do something?"

"I don't think so. Any attempt at reprisals would result in a war that might mean the end of everything. On the other hand, the raid on London wouldn't go on for long. High explosive's far too expensive."

"But what then? You don't want Goer-

## SONNET TO NUREMBERG

By Klabund (1891-1928)

Germanic town than thou more German none,

Thy walls uphold me, totterer that I am. Act lion to the lion, to the lamb a lamb, I pray thy prayers, thy standing prayers of stone.

O world, where worship, worth and work were wed,

When daily things had in them of divine! Picture and gable, God-informed, will shine When we but feed a churchyard flower bed.

And were these dry motes digged at war's behest?

Lilac and golden broom the loopholes ring. The goldsmith—took he gold, to line his nest?

Eternal was the time. Larks simply sing; Let us be girt to simpleness, like men; And give us Dürer, give us Sachs again!

"I know I'm too young," I said. "Too young to have a vote, too young to be an ARP warden. But the moment this country goes to war, I'm no longer quite so young. I shall be eyed hungrily by recruiting sergeants, and girls will hand me white feathers. For I shall have become old, old enough to kill and be killed, old enough to be sent to a concentration camp if I refuse."

"YOU'RE quite right there" he admitted. "But the fact that you're old enough to fight doesn't alter the fact that you know nothing of war from actual experience. You talk about all the ex-Service men who are members of your Peace Pledge Union, but you forget that there are millions more like me, millions who know that war is hell and yet are prepared to go through it again if the worst comes to the worst."

"But there are millions more like you also in Germany, millions who, like you, hate war, and yet are prepared in the last contingency to answer any threat to the Reich with war. And until one side or the other proves by some definite gesture that war is not its objective, the deadlock will continue."

"You don't understand. If you'd actually experienced all the hatred and violence released by war, you wouldn't talk so glibly about 'proofs' and 'gestures'."

"I know I know nothing about war. I've



# SOFIA WELCOMES PEACE MISSION

## Man Who Speaks for the People

Special to PEACE NEWS

**I**VAN LANOV, the Bulgarian member of the Council of the War Resisters' International, writes to say that on arriving in Sofia on August 19, he found the capital "full of Mr. Lansbury."

In describing the meeting which took place that evening he writes: "A vast audience overflowed the hall. Mr. Lansbury spoke on behalf of a world seeking peace."

"His ideas and words had a warm welcome, and he was sincerely and spontaneously applauded . . . Public opinion has been encouraged by his visit and his words. A wave of free thought has covered the country."

George Lansbury, the International's chairman, also gave a private address to members of the Bulgarian Section of the WRI. Ivan Lanov says, "Our friends were delighted. Thanks to his presence we were able to meet together without permission and without police control—the first time for three or four years!"

### HAPPY IMPRESSIONS

Another member of the Bulgarian section writes: "All our friends in Sofia are still under the happy impressions of the time Mr. Lansbury spent with us on Saturday night, August 20."

"He and his companions had spent all the day in visiting and receiving many people, and seeing some neighbouring villages. Mr. Lansbury had only half an hour to spare, as he had to go on to a reception. After one of our members had expressed our joy and gratitude at having him among us, saying that we felt him as our father who came to us from a far-away country, Mr. Lansbury spoke all the remaining time. All present were charmed by his words and personality."

"We dedicated No. 20 of our small paper to Mr. Lansbury, publishing four articles on him and his message. These have been very much appreciated by our friends and the outside people who have read the paper."

### PRESS COMMENTS

"In the press there were only sympathetic commentaries on the message and mission of Mr. Lansbury. It is worth notice that the Government is very pleased by Mr. Lansbury's approval of the recently concluded agreement between Bulgaria and other Balkan countries."

"This agreement is not welcomed by the Macedonian nationalists and the revisionists; Mr. Lansbury approved it as an act of renunciation of violence by the Balkan countries in their relationships with each other."

"Mr. Lansbury himself will give you his personal impressions. I wished only to tell you about the impressions and the feelings of our friends and to express to him, through you, our love, admiration, and gratitude for his activity."

### HIS CRUSADE

A very interesting article on George Lansbury and his peace work appeared in the journal *Nov Jivot*, of Sofia. In the course of this article the writer, Eugen Regis, of Rumania, says:

"It is in this spirit that I am happy to meet again, in Sofia, one of the great 'ambassadors' of peace: George Lansbury, this grand old man who continues untiringly on his crusade. I knew him in London in 1925, and I heard him speak on the occasion of the conference of the War Resisters' International at Hoddesdon."

The "politician," that he then was, is now dominated by the apostle of peace. And the essence of his plea is, at the bottom, simple good sense. His logic is firm, his arguments always convincing, his vitality and his eloquence are simple, natural, and go straight to the heart of the listener."

The "crusade" of Lansbury has today a high moral value, for there are unhappily too many intellectuals who run with the crowd. This English Ambassador for peace has given me the impression of a "Prophet in a Frock-Coat," who—following the example of the ancient visionaries of the Bible—dares to speak the truth to the masters of the peoples, to tyrants, and to the timorous masses, sowing the good seed everywhere in the hope that it will germinate at last in good ground."



INTERNATIONAL GATHERING ON A NORWEGIAN MOUNTAINSIDE

From left to right, the young men in this picture are an Englishman, a Norwegian, a Swede, and two Danes.

Photo. by F. L. ROBERTSHAW.

## A.R.P. Bluff Called in Glasgow

### NO CONTROL OVER NEW AUTHORITY

From Our Own Correspondent ANDREW STEWART

**T**HE bluff of ARP in Glasgow has been effectively called by one of the local newspapers, the *Evening Citizen*, which is Independent Conservative in opinion.

Disturbed at the uncertainty of the Corporation's preparations, the *Citizen* addressed, in a pointed editorial last week, seven questions to the convenor of the Air Raid Precautions Committee, Mr. P. J. Dollan, well-known Labourist.

Mr. Dollan, who is a skilful debater, did not answer the questions *seriatim*, but replied with a long, and in parts evasive, letter.

The questions, with the gist of Mr. Dollan's replies, were as follows:

1. When will the bomb-proof trenches which are to be made in the parks and elsewhere be ready?  
Answer: Not "until the emergency arises."
2. Who are to occupy them, and when and how?  
Answer: No direct answer.
3. What progress, if any, has been made in the matter of evacuation of the population?  
Answer: "Arrangements can be made."
4. When is the exodus to begin—when war has begun, or when an air raid has been threatened?  
Answer: "Shortly after war breaks out."
5. What transport arrangements have been or are being made?  
Answer: See 3 above.
6. How long are people to stay away—for the "duration," or for an hour or two, or for a few days?  
Answer: No answer.
7. When are the gas-masks going to be distributed to the people?  
Answer: "In a few days."

The hollowness of ARP has never been better exemplified than in Mr. Dollan's letter, which hasn't the virtue of even being apologetic.

At the moment of writing the *Evening Citizen* has not made any reply.

### COMMITTEE'S POWERS

Another disquieting development in ARP in Glasgow was the decision reached on Thursday last at a meeting of the corporation, to hand over the direction of ARP to a sub-committee of five, headed by Mr. Dollan.

The sub-committee has been vested with autonomous power "in matters of national urgency or emergency." Asked by a member as to who would decree that

a time of emergency had arisen, the Town Clerk said that such power would be vested in the sub-committee itself.

One of the immediate consequences of this decision is that the sub-committee may spend in excess of the £3,000 allocated to it for ARP without applying to the corporation for sanction.

### Shelter Offered but Not Guaranteed

From Our Own Correspondent

A letter has just been circulated to the tenants and departmental heads at Australia House by the Official Secretary, in which it stated:

A scheme for air raid precautions has been prepared by this office in consultation with the Air Raid Precautions Department, and the work in connexion with the preparation of a gas-proof shelter is in course of being carried out.

The shelter is intended for the use of the staff of the Commonwealth Government and the tenants in Australia House, and the cost of the work, together with that in connexion with the organization will be borne by the Commonwealth.

It must be understood that the Commonwealth offers the use of the shelter without guarantee of the shelter being gas, bomb, or fire proof and without incurring any liability whatsoever for any injury which may occur to person or property.

The effect of this letter has been to make bombs, gassing, and war generally the chief topics of conversation throughout Australia House, where many workmen have been busy for some months, and numerous air-locks and a large concrete-reinforced room in the basement have been constructed.

### Public Not Fooled

From Our Own Correspondent

The British public, apparently, is not swallowing the ARP bait as well as the Government anglers supposed it would.

In an interview Captain Douglas Cain, Air Raid Precautions Officer for the dockyard town of Chatham, admitted to me that, where-

### GLASGOW ELECTION

#### Good Prospects for Laurence Housman

From Our Own Correspondent

Glasgow

The choice of Mr. Laurence Housman as pacifist candidate in the Rectorial Election at Glasgow University, reported in PEACE NEWS last week, has been given great prominence in the Glasgow press.

His chances, according to several observers here, are very good indeed.

So far there are only two other candidates in the field: Sir Henry Lunn (Liberalist) and Sir Archibald Sinclair (Liberal). Both are Liberals, and they have been conducting an acrimonious correspondence in the Glasgow Press on their respective claims to being sound disciples of Gladstone. So far Sir Archibald Sinclair is leading on points.

The Socialists and the Conservatives have still to put up candidates. There are no reliable rumours from either camp.

The election is being held to fill the vacancy created by the death of Dick Sheppard shortly after his sensational victory at the polls in October last.

The Rev. George F. Macleod, formerly of Govan, and, like Mr. Housman, a Sponsor of the Peace Pledge Union, was originally chosen as the candidate, but he had to withdraw because of his commitments in connexion with the Iona Community experiment which he is organizing.

(continued from col. 3)

as 700 wardens are urgently required if his scheme for the "protection" of 45,000 people is to have the faintest hope of success, there are to date only 108 volunteers.

Of these only 28 have passed their examination—just 4 percent of the desired number.

Chatham also needs an auxiliary fire service, says Captain Cain. Three hundred and fifty volunteers are required; forty have come forward.

"I appeal to the public of Chatham to help me to create an organization worthy of the town," says Captain Cain. Pacifists, however, are appealing to Chatham, and to every town in the land, to create a constructive peace organization that will play a part in making the farce of air raid precautions unnecessary.

While I was waiting to see Captain Cain I picked up an alarming pamphlet which bore in dripping letters the caption "Take Cover."

It contained suggestions and plans for the erection of concrete shelters in homes, offices and public gardens. Seeking to alarm local authorities and householders with a large picture of a city being bombed, the pamphlet urged the immediate construction of the shelters.

When I reached the last page, I discovered that it was nothing more nor less than an advertising sheet issued by a large concrete combine.

And so the work of vested interests goes on.



## WILFRED WELLOCK on THE ADOPTION OF VILLAGES

IN moving about the country during the last twelve months, I have often been painfully conscious of the fact that our message has scarcely even begun to penetrate the countryside.

Despite the fact that most of us persist in thinking of ourselves as an urban or manufacturing country, agriculture is still our largest industry, while a very considerable proportion of our population lives in villages.

### VILLAGES NEGLECTED

Every new movement tends to think in terms of towns, and even to overlook the fact that any change of policy which demands the consent and good will of the nation must capture the villages no less than the big centres of population. New political parties concentrate on the towns and neglect the agricultural population, but in the end they are all brought to realize that their policies will remain idle dreams unless they remedy that defect.

I am afraid the Peace Pledge Union has, to some extent, fallen into this error, although I know that in some areas valiant efforts have been made to penetrate the countryside.

In Norfolk, in Devon, in Wales—and in other areas also—I have witnessed enterprising and successful attempts to carry the PPU message into remote villages; but I am afraid that such exceptions only prove the rule.

### PENETRATING THE COUNTRYSIDE

What I would like to suggest is that town and city groups consider this question of penetrating the countryside, and in particular the idea of "adopting" villages for propaganda purposes. Some towns, which possess many PPU groups, might "adopt" as many as a dozen villages.

Adoption might mean many things. The first thing to do is to hunt out one or perhaps two or three persons who would act

as a liaison between the group and the village, and as a centre of action in the village itself. This centre would be kept supplied with literature, both leaflets and pamphlets. The latter might possibly be supplied at lower than cost price in order to encourage their sale.

Local inquiries would be reported to the group. Occasionally a deputation of four or five people would go down to see how things were progressing and perhaps have a chat with a number of persons who had become interested. Later on cottages or even larger meetings could be arranged, the group finding the speakers.

This course would be an admirable means of following up the work done by the propaganda van, since the impressions of a flying visit tend quickly to fade away.

It is my experience that country people are very responsive to our message. They listen keenly, know what we are talking about and driving at, and feel the harmony between our purpose and a simple faith that so far has remained unspoilt.

## Essential Points in the P.P.U. MANIFESTO

*The Peace Pledge Union, founded by Dick Sheppard on the basis of the pledge, "We renounce war and will never support or sanction another," makes this appeal to all who seek peace within and between the nations.*

The pledge to renounce war, involving as it does the refusal to allow governments to make use of the weapons of violence in support of foreign policy, leads inevitably to the necessity for a new foreign policy, based on economic appeasement and reconciliation. The most pressing need is to take immediate steps which will lead ultimately to the establishment of a really serviceable League of Nations.

The new League must be based on provisions designed to meet the economic requirements of the large masses of poverty-stricken people to be found in varying degree among all nations of the earth. The satisfaction and security of each and every nation must be, and can be obtained in the well being of all.

Now is the time when every democrat should concentrate upon and call his government to confront the real and pressing economic needs of the people of the world.

The maintenance of imperial interest and economic advantage for ourselves literally means that we are living at the expense of the people of other countries. It also necessitates domination which makes peace impossible.

The Van Zeeland Report has been drawn up by a statesman appointed by the governments of Britain and France to consider the economic and political causes of friction in the world. M. Van Zeeland's conclusions should be investigated at once. They may be modified. He provided for that.

When the causes are faced, a solution which could both meet the needs of hungry nations, raise the standard of life and secure the rights of native peoples, will be found possible in other terms than those of war.

We urge that a new peace treaty should be drawn up, this time before another war begins, instead of after it, when hideous consequences must lead to increased hatred, increased revenge and renewed conflict—if indeed civilization survives.

Copies of the full Manifesto are obtainable from the Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1.

## The Notice Board

### Meetings

**Bournemouth.**—Garden Party at 26 Ropley Road, fixed for September 10, has been cancelled.

**Herne Hill** group will meet on and after September 19 in the Baptist Church Hall on Mondays at 8 p.m.

**Bewdley.**—Weekend school on "The Progress of the Peace Pledge Union" September 17 & 18; speaker, Roy Walker. Members intending to be present, please apply at once to Mrs. B. A. Phillips, 57 Middle Park Road, Selly Oak, Birmingham, 29.

Groups are invited to send names and addresses of people (pacifists or others) within easy reach of the City, who might be persuaded to attend a meeting addressed by Lord Ponsonby, George Lansbury, and Mrs. Pethick-Lawrence on October 25, to City PPU Group, 13 Paternoster Row, E.C.4.

**Romford** group now holds open-air meetings every Tuesday at 8 p.m. in the Romford Market Place.

**West Norwood** group will not meet in St. Luke's Church Hall, which is undergoing redecoration, until September 13 when Mr. Sydney Larcombe will speak on the W.R.I.

Open-air meetings every Friday at 8.15 p.m. in Kings Square, Barry. Also in Llandaff Fields, Cardiff at 8 p.m. on Sundays.

**Hull.**—Open-air meetings every Wednesday 9 p.m. at West Park Gates.

Open-air meetings are now held on Footing Bee Common every Sunday at 7 p.m. as well as

on Clapham Common (3 p.m.) and Streatham Common (6.30 p.m.). Arranged between Streatham, Battersea and Wandsworth groups.

### PEACE NEWS Sellers Wanted

**Glasgow.**—Every Saturday from 8 p.m. outside Regal. Write R. Speirs, 173 Thomson Street, Glasgow, 1.

Two hundred volunteers needed for mass selling in the West End on October 8. Further details later.

**Leeds.**—Every Saturday afternoon. Also house-to-house selling at any convenient time. Write J. Michael Rosenblum, 4, Grange Terrace, Chapel-town, Leeds, 7.

**Bexley Heath.**—At Clock Tower every Friday, at 7 p.m. Write to Donald Port, 143 Singlewell Road, Gravesend.

**Letchworth.**—Volunteers for street selling wanted on Saturdays between 3 and 5 p.m. and 5 and 7 p.m. Also on Sundays outside churches. Please give details and times to J. Yardley, 49 William Way, Letchworth.

**Bristol.**—Every Saturday between 2.30 p.m. and 5 p.m. Write John Bamford, 24 Bromley Road, Horfield, Bristol, 7.

**Blackheath.**—Outside Roxy Cinema from 5 p.m. on Saturdays.

**Harborne.**—Every Friday and Saturday. Write S. G. White, 46, Wheats Avenue, Harborne, Birmingham.

**Cambridge.**—Write to Austin Davies, 28 Malcolm Street, Cambridge.

**Tunbridge Wells.**—Write to Maurice Cransby, 4 Mount Ephraim, Tunbridge Wells.

### Poster Parades

**Richmond.**—Volunteers required to advertise public meeting on October 4 each evening during the preceding week. Any members able to help on one or more evenings write to G. D. Piper, 97 Sandycombe Road, Richmond, Surrey.

**Women please note.** All-women poster parade on September 17, at 6.45 p.m. from 96 Regent Street, W.1. See Letters Page (13).

**Eltham.**—Meet at 10 Downman Road, Well Hall, at 6 p.m. for parading and PEACE NEWS selling.

### Miscellaneous

PPU members on holiday or resident in Leven district and willing to help in propaganda work, please write to Miss M. Simpson, "The Square," Kennoway, Fife.

Those visiting Ayrshire district please inform Miss Jean Brock, 54, Barassie Street, Troon (tel. 634), or Mrs. Sybil White, 71 London Road, Kilmarnock.

**Bournemouth** group is arranging two parties for members and friends to visit the Pavilion on September 29, at 8 p.m., and October 1, at 8 p.m., to see *Idiot's Delight*. Those wishing to join either party should send their names as soon as possible to Mrs. W. Laurie, 12, Hampshire Court, The Square, Bournemouth, stating which night they prefer. Seats 1s. 6d.

## PEACE PLEDGE UNION, 96 Regent St., London, W.1

Phone: REGENT 2843

"Things we want you to know"

September 10th, 1938



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# UP THE GARDEN PATH

By  
BESOM

HOLLAND, said *The Star* on Saturday evening, "may, like other small countries, have missed some of the broader outlook that comes from a far-flung empire, but, as against that, she has enjoyed freedom from many awkward problems and the opportunity of quiet self-development."

Frightful bore, you know, these empires that are flung all over the place. White mans' burden, and all that. (Though I should have thought the Dutch East Indies had been flung far enough.)

## BE PREPARED

"Although cavalry soldiers are now driving armoured cars instead of riding horses they are still being provided with spurs, clasp knives for removing stones from horses' hooves, and riding breeches," says the *South Wales Echo*.

## WORDS FAILED HIM

A peasant poet of Kazakstan in Central Asia (according to *Parade*) has dedicated the following free verse to Stalin, the Russian dictator:

I wanted to compare thee to a prophet,  
but prophets told lies.  
I wanted to compare thee to the ocean,  
but ships can run aground on hidden reefs in the ocean.  
I wanted to compare thee to the mountain,  
but the summit of every mountain can be seen.  
I wanted to compare thee to the moon,  
but the moon only shines at night.  
I wanted to compare thee to the sun,  
but the sun only shines on bright days."

## TRIUMPH FOR THE BAREFACED

Captain L. C. Schlötel, an anti-gas expert, speaking at Plymouth about air raid precautions, said: "It is difficult to fit bearded men with gas masks, and should an emergency arise, those with beards more than a hand long might be faced with the alternative of either cutting their beards off or being gassed."

—Evening Standard.

## HUMANE KILLER?

Sir Holman Gregory said in the *Sunday Dispatch* the other day that he assumed "that the large majority of those who have never had the opportunity of witnessing a murder trial feel that it must be a painful experience when sentence is passed on a convicted prisoner."

But, he said, this was, "in fact not the case."

Actually, he went on, "our English courts" are so fair and businesslike that they win "the confidence and admiration of those in attendance."

In fact:

**Judge:** Anything to say before I pass sentence?

**Prisoner:** Only that I think our courts are wonderful.

## LET'S PRETEND

"Shut your windows as you would against a neighbour's bonfire," warned the BBC the other night in connexion with an ARP experimental smoke screen.

Yes, and when the bombs drop bury your head in the sand as you would if you were an ostrich.

## OUR VALUABLE KING

The King is worth £1,000,000 a year to men's wear industries in Britain. That is the estimate of trade experts . . . the King is showing marked signs of "clothes consciousness."

—Sunday Referee, August 14.

## DEMOCRACY

A Northumberland vicar, I see, lost his seat on the rural council because he hadn't attended a council meeting for more than six months.

But the electors weren't having any: they returned him again, unopposed.

Presumably true democrats prefer to be represented by someone who's never present to speak for them; at any rate, precisely the same phenomenon is to be seen in some parliamentary constituencies.

## RESULT OF NATURALIZATION

Mr. Alexander Korda has by this film shown to the whole world that naturalized Englishmen can direct films better than anybody else.—Viscount Castlerosse in *Sunday Express*.

## SALES RESISTANCE

From a cartoon by Tom Frawley in the *Blackburn Times*:

**A.R.P. Instructor:** I've called about your gas mask.

**Man of the House:** We don't need gas masks—we have electric all through here.

# Peradventures of "Peace News"—No. 4



"I siy, Bert, this 'ere PEACE NEWS wot I fahrd, don't arf make yer fink."

Drawn by E. E. BRISCOE.

# Letter from the Editor

17 Featherstone Buildings,  
London, W.C.1.

## "Facing the Music"

IN this week's leader-page article, TERENCE LANCASTER tells of one of those people who take refuge in the argument, "You're too young to understand . . ." A similar sort of argument, but addressed to an older generation, has appeared in the daily press since the Czech crisis brought with it the danger of Britain's becoming involved in war.

Thus "JOHN BOUVERIE," in the *News Chronicle*, the other day wrote of "the deep-seated pacifism which has characterized the British people ever since 1918," then he went on to try and un-seat it. "The middle-aged and the still-young," he wrote, "ask: 'I have fought one "war-to-end-war": isn't that enough for one lifetime? Must I be expected to believe the same nonsense a second time?'"

The writer himself then proceeded to put across exactly the same nonsense a second time:

But these convictions would not, we think stand finally in the way, if the people's sense of the justice and fitness of human affairs demanded that they should face the music.

If, after having "faced the music"—as it was so politely termed—last time, a sense of justice had been allowed some play in human affairs we might not be in the situation of today.

But that is beside the point; the article from which I have just quoted was by no means the only one recently to have been written to prepare public opinion for justification of a possible war.

In this instance "JOHN BOUVERIE" concluded—after admitting that "there cannot be an Englishman who would bring his conscience to the point of war without acute misgiving"—by asserting that, if we did enter a conflict,

we should know that we were fighting for our own preservation and to rid ourselves and the world of a challenge to sanity that had grown too presumptuous to be tolerable.

In one way I think this sort of propaganda is encouraging: it is evidently feared that public opinion may not be behind the Government if it should become involved in war. The moral for us is plain.

THE public meeting on China, held in Friends House, London, last week (which we report on page 5), did something to give people a faint idea of the truly colossal proportions of the task of relieving the sufferings caused by Japan's undeclared war.

Try to imagine, for example, the numbers of destitute Chinese (after you have made a mental note of what "destitute" really means!). HARRY T. SILCOCK had estimated the number at about 30 millions—well over half the population of this country.

But the CHINESE AMBASSADOR said that by now it would be at least double that. Imagine, not every other, but every person you meet, see, hear of, or know in the whole of this country destitute!

It is small comfort to know that the number is nevertheless "only" a seventh of the total and not concentrated all in one area. They are mainly, of course, in what is generally known as the "occupied" area—almost half China—though it is by no means a conquered area, and constant guerrilla warfare doesn't make things any easier.

## More than 2,000 Workers Needed

ONE of the Friends who went to investigate the possibilities on the spot of the work which the Society of Friends has now decided to undertake told me that, despite the appalling extent of this suffering (and consequent poverty), more than nine-tenths of the money now being distributed in relief has been contributed by Chinese in China.

It would be interesting to see how many people who vaguely know that the Friends sent relief workers to heal Europe's wounds after the Great War have any idea how many they actually numbered. Those who have recently toured the stricken areas of China were hard put to it to answer a similar poser put to them by the small group of Friends living there.

Their estimate of about 1,100 was pretty near the mark. Imagine their feelings when their Chinese friends, making the comparison of the extent of the suffering in Europe then and in China now, hoped that English Friends would send at least twice that number to China!

# Twenty-One Years Ago

From the *New Crusader*,  
September 14, 1917

WE congratulate John P. F. Fletcher, a keen, uncompromising peace worker, on his sentence of two years' hard labour for refusing to "handle a rifle."

Our comrade was organizer of the Australian Freedom League, and served two terms of imprisonment in New Zealand for anti-conscription propaganda. In his court-martial statement he said:

For many years I have known that a Christian must live in friendship with all men . . .

I am responsible to God alone for my acts, and I could no more take that proffered rifle than I could rob you of your money.

I regard conscription, which tries to make the killing of men a universal duty, as a most evil law, which I must oppose with all the powers I possess. For six years I have been able to give all my time to this work, to which I feel I am called, of encouraging men to be true to the law of friendship, by refusing to be conscripted as soldiers.

For speaking and writing against conscription I served two sentences of imprisonment in New Zealand in 1913, and one sentence in this country last year. Now that I have been compelled to live among soldiers I have been able to speak with them, and have been received in the most friendly way. It would surprise you if you knew how much they are looking to the conscientious objectors for help, and how they encourage us to stand firm. . . .

In thinking of this latest prison recruit, let us take the opportunity of remembering, as we continually remember, all those men who are standing up for Jesus Christ and his principle of life, who are now enduring the humdrum obscurity of our jails.

No "Scrap of paper" has saved them, and when they are once more among us, it is they who will be looked up to by men and women who are turning broken-heartedly or scornfully from the official churches which have no message for the world save the drum and the bomb.

"Wars, whether these be class or racial wars, will cease when neither individuals or nations are allowed to monopolize or in any way restrict the right of peoples to the full sharing and usage of that most precious of all national resources—land," said Mr. George Lansbury in a message of goodwill sent to the organizing committee of the Henry George School of Economics, whose winter programme of free economics courses is announced.

## Solution to Last Week's Crossword

G	R	O	U	S	E	R	A	R	C	H	E	S
A	U	E	N	E	T	O	N	E	T			
R	E	T	O	A	T	V	M	A	N	A	G	E
T	L	F	R	E	E	D	O	M	R	A	E	
E	V	E	R	A	L	D	S	T	A	R		
R	T	E	P	I	D	J	E	T	T	A	S	
T	P	L	E	V	E	L	A	A				
P	A	S	T	I	P	W	B	U	G	L	E	
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## Public reactions to

West End  
Poster Parades

PROMPTED by the correspondence in PEACE NEWS regarding the value of poster parades, those taking part in the parades from Regent Street each Saturday have made a careful study of the reactions of the public to the parade.

One volunteer followed a recent parade without sandwich boards, mingling with the crowds, in order to make a close study of facial expressions, and to overhear remarks where possible.

The general conclusion was that the parades are well worth while. As far as could be gathered the parade was taken quite seriously, and people took the parades to be sincere people working for what they believed to be a good cause.

## DEMAND FOR LEAFLETS

Leaflets were not handed out wholesale, but were merely held out so that people could take them if they wished.

A surprisingly large number of people went out of their way to ask for leaflets. A taxi driver went half-way across the road and exclaimed: "I'll take one of those—it's about time I read some sense." One said to his friend, as he put a leaflet into his pocket: "We must have a look at this later on."

Other remarks overheard were: "Their intentions are very good"; "I love those posters"; "I must read this"; "You are doing good work."

## SYMPATHY NEEDED

Occasionally we have met with opposition, but it has been found that if individuals are dealt with in a really sympathetic manner they usually depart a little less sure of themselves, and with a little more respect for pacifists.

We feel more than ever, after these observations, that poster parades are good propaganda, but if any doubtful members will come along one Saturday and make observations for themselves, we shall be very glad.

We should like to appeal to members who believe poster parades are worth while, to help us any Saturday from 96, Regent Street at 6.45 p.m. Also will women make a special effort to help in the all-women parade next Saturday (September 17). Special posters and leaflets will be used.

DON LEANEY

## Under the Oak Tree

By CECILIA GURICH, of the  
Spanish Staff

(on behalf of the Basque Fund)

SEPTEMBER 5 was a tragic date for the children of Basque House. Classes started again, and this event was only welcomed by a small group of "intellectuals."

The previous week had been eventful for the children. Thirty of them were invited to tea at the house of our great friend, Dr. Bensusan Butt. They enjoyed themselves playing with the toys which were given to them, and eating blackberries from the biggest tree of the garden, until it was time to go home. And then, thirty "good byes" and thirty "thank yous" were heard.

Another event was the fair at Langham so close to Basque House that one could hear its "delicious music." As all the children were anxious to go, they had supper earlier than usual, and then went to the fair.

Their favourite amusements, the coconut shies, where they displayed their knowledge of English with "Me Mr. four cocos please."

So the children have said good-bye to their summer holidays, and the normal routine and peaceful days will succeed each other with lessons, handicraft, games, and housework.

Now their only desire is for the visits of their foster-parents, and they are looking forward to Saturdays and Sundays when they presume their foster-parents will come and see them.

Stories about their holidays still continue, we hear the words "foster-father" and "foster-mother" innumerable times. A few days ago a girl was running after little Bertita—two years old—who, wanting to go to her mother, cried: "Leave me alone. Let me go with my foster-mother!"

In future the children intend to put on a fresh series of performances, for which we shall, of course, need new costumes. We should be pleased, therefore if any of our readers who have any suitable materials, would send them to us and the children will enjoy making them up.

All donations should be sent to Basque Fund, Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, W.1. They will be most gratefully received.

## NEWS from the FOUR CORNERS

## HOME COUNTIES

## Croydon

THE fifth open-air meeting of the Croydon region was held on August 27. Sybil Morrison, Roy Walker, and Frank Regan spoke and answered many questions put by a crowd which at times numbered two hundred.

## Enfield

A meeting from the Publicity Van at Enfield last week was followed by a lightning tour of Hertfordshire. Meetings were held at Cuffley and Waltham Cross where the speakers were Mrs. Arnold and Roy Walker. The van also toured the busy market place of Hoddesdon while supporters sold PEACE NEWS and distributed leaflets among the crowds.

## Uxbridge Region

The PPU Publicity Van visited the Uxbridge region on August 22 and 23. On the Monday evening a meeting was held at Ickenham, when Miss Christabel Cowles (the speaker with the van) was supported by Mr. P. J. Pitman, and Mr. H. R. J. Lee. Following upon an appeal, plans have already been made for starting a group here.

On the Tuesday a meeting was held at midday outside the Fairey Aviation Factories at Hayes, Middlesex, where much interest was shown and literature was well received.

In the evening a meeting was held at the market place, Uxbridge, where a large crowd listened to Miss Christabel Cowles,

Mr. N. F. T. Saunders, and Mr. H. R. J. Lee. Several inquirers gave their names and addresses for further information, and there are good grounds for anticipating the formation of an Uxbridge town group shortly.

The work of distributing 30,000 copies of the Manifesto within the Uxbridge region is now practically complete, and the local groups are already receiving responses to a covering letter which was sent out with these.

## LONDON

## Streatham

A MEETING arranged by the local group on Streatham Common last Sunday afternoon attracted a crowd of 200 people who gave a very sympathetic hearing to Mr. King and John Barclay and asked many questions.

John Barclay recently addressed some seventy members of the South-Western area of the Youth Hostels Association. The discussion continued until 11 p.m. when several people expressed the wish that it might continue for another four hours! The PPU point of view was received with enthusiasm and a number of people expressed their intention of joining the local group.

## MIDLANDS

## Kettering

KETTERING group opened its autumn season with a meeting of group members and sympathizers at the Toller Lecture

Room. Rev. Cauldwell occupied the chair and Roy Walker spoke on "The Peace Pledge Union and the Individual."

## NORTH

## Sheffield

AGITATION for a PPU group in Crosspool has led to the calling of a preliminary meeting of members of that district which will be held in the Benty Lane Schoolrooms on September 20, at 8 p.m. The object of the meeting will be to form a group, choose its leader and discuss its work.

Some Crosspool members have already asked for a public meeting to be held in the district and arrangements for this will be discussed also.

The autumn session of the Sheffield group opens with a members' meeting at the Church House, St. James' Street, on September 14, at 7.45 p.m., when Douglas J. J. Owen, of Manchester, will speak on "Disarmament and a New League of Nations."

## SCOTLAND

REPRESENTATIVES from Glasgow, Edinburgh, Dundee, Ayrshire, and Greenock met in the Scottish office last week-end to arrange details of the Scottish conference which is to be held from November 4 to 6. The programme includes poster parades, pacifist services in various churches, an open-air demonstration and a Dick Sheppard Memorial Service conducted by Canon Stuart Morris. John Barclay will travel up to speak on area organization at the Saturday afternoon session.

Edinburgh is soon to have a peace centre of its own.

## Troon

One of the most go-ahead groups in Scotland is that at Troon. Though the membership is not very strong, a great deal of work has been done in the last three or four months, and the townspeople of Troon are now very "PPU-conscious."

The usual fortnightly open-air meeting was held on the shore on August 25th. The speakers were Sybil White, of Kilmarnock, and Messrs. Kennedy, Ferguson, and Wilson, of Barrhead. Mr. Turnbull, of Falkirk was in the chair.

The meeting was, as usual, thrown open for questions, which were at first slow in coming. Once started, however, they came fast, and a most interesting, and at times rather heated discussion took place.

The meeting, in fact, went on long after its usual time, and little groups stayed on discussing and arguing, after the others had dispersed.

One of the audience called for a vote of thanks to the chairman, for the able way in which he had conducted the meeting.

A flag day held recently by the group realized the handsome sum of £25, which is to be used to finance several shows of peace films in a local cinema.

Correspondence is being carried on in the local press, and reports sent in of PPU meetings are published regularly. Other activities include house-to-house distribution of literature and selling of PEACE NEWS.

The winter programme includes a Glasgow University rectorial meeting, a Dick Sheppard memorial meeting, anti-war films, debates, and other propaganda meetings.

## SENT BY A READER



Conversation piece at the PPU summer conference at Langham. From left: John S. Hayland, Stuart Morris, and Sir Norman Angell.

## Group Notes

By John Barclay

## "Let Us Redouble Our Efforts"

EVERY day produces a new crisis and the newspapers compete with each other to give us scare headlines more subtle than their competitors. All the more reason why we, as pacifists, should remind ourselves and our public that war is not inevitable and that there is an alternative.

The most effective slogan that I know, and that which bears most truth, is "War will only cease when men refuse to fight." It is so simple that it comes like a cold shower on the red-hot passions which are being inflamed by war talk.

The mass of people do not want war and we know that. Not only this, we know that given a lead the courage latent in all can be mobilized behind the pacifist movement.

We are now operating groups in 1,256 districts in the British Isles—nearly every town in England and Wales is a centre of activity and a concerted effort by us all would have tremendous results. Co-ordinated effort and a resolute will to peace could and would awaken a new hope.

## SPREADING THE FAITH

Despair produces paralysis and we are faced not by apathy but by paralysis today. Human beings cannot face the thought of war and so we must replace the idea that war is inevitable by a conviction that peace is possible. To do this we must be possessed by a burning faith ourselves and be willing to share it so abundantly that we set fire to it in others.

We have a constructive case, we know that it is the only alternative to war. If others could believe this, all would be well. They will believe it if we can light up their imaginations by humour, understanding,

and intelligence.

Let us therefore redouble our efforts, and even if we never see the results, we shall have shared in a glorious adventure.

## THE FINANCIAL PROBLEM

People seem ashamed to ask for money but to me money is like cheese. If you keep it too long, it begins to over-power everything else.

There are 120,000 of us; at the rate of 1d. per week this would bring in £500. But there are many who have banking accounts. If you are one of these fortunate ones, please send us a cheque.

Hand in hand with increased effort come increased costs and now that we have got so much to give we must be prepared to give ourselves.

## DICK SHEPPARD CENTRES

Will every group that has got a Dick Sheppard Centre started, or has had a peace shop for a short time during the last twelve months, please send me an account of it for publication later.

First Come, First Served. The following items of furniture are now available for peace centres and if you will apply to me for the particular article required, I will post you the name and address of the donor:

- 1 strong dining room table, 4 feet 9 inches by 3 feet 4½ inches, 2 leaves inclusive.
- 1 kitchen arm-chair.
- 1 stair carpet (new), nearly 10 yards long by 18 inches wide.
- 1 stair carpet, 3 yards by 18 inches.
- 1 square carpet (worn), 3 yards.
- Matting, 3 yards by 1 yard.
- 2 mats.
- 1 wool rug.
- 1 iron fender curb, 4 feet.
- 1 basket chair, strong.

## PEACE PLEDGE UNION

## WHAT IT IS

THE Peace Pledge Union welcomes within its ranks all those who accept the pacifist doctrine no matter what their method of approach.

The activities of the Union are not confined to the comparatively negative activity of registering the names of those who are in opposition to war, but include the organizing of constructive work for peace.

Copy out on a post-card this pledge:—

I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.

Sign your name and address and send it to:—

THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION  
96 Regent Street, W.1  
who will be pleased to answer any questions.



# Dear Sir . . .

## PROBLEMS OF THE PEACE MOVEMENT

WITHOUT agreeing in every detail with the pacifist point of view I venture to disagree with Mr. Ben Greene's summing up (PEACE NEWS, September 3) of the present attitude of certain politically-minded people toward pacifists. On the other hand he is more than correct in his views of the communists and their shady tactics.

As to pacifism: no movement should be measured exclusively by its numerical strength or achievements; it ought to be viewed on occasions by what it prevents its opponents from doing. In that connexion the pacifist must always be a power and a steady influence on public opinion in a political democracy like ours.

Mr. Greene may remember 1914-1918, when the number of persons with pacifist views was very much smaller than is apparently the case today or is likely to be if and when war breaks out. Their influence, however, was enormous, and many were later elected to Parliament, showing that the electorate agreed with their stand against war. During that war period not only the Left, but the Right and the Centre as well were anti-pacifist; but that mattered little to men and women of principle.

If there is one thing above all that must not be done in this country relative to peace and war it is, that those who want peace should not be moral cowards. In any case, there is much more support for the cause

of pacifism in this country than Mr. Greene would suppose.

It proves little, even if the Left has become opposed to pacifism. Indeed, Mr. Greene may live yet to see the position reversed, when the Right has turned Jingo once again and the Left has come to its senses. And what will he say then?

My views on communism and communists are well known. I detest dictatorships of all kinds; they are an offence to human intelligence; and a dictatorship of the Left is much more detestable because of its hypocritical appeal on higher grounds. Then, you are never sure that a person calling himself a communist is so in fact.

Very recently, a woman employed at the London office of the Friends of the Soviet Union (a communist side-show) turned out to be a police agent, with the result that two or three communists are now serving penal servitude. It would not surprise me if a number of those regarded as very ardent communist propagandists in this country are in fact serving two masters at the same time, and double-crossing both in the end.

In my fairly long experience of public life I have no hesitation in saying that communist tactics are the vilest that have emerged in British politics; and what astonishes me is the number of simpletons who are totally incapable of seeing through it all.

RHYS J. DAVIES.  
House of Commons, S.W.1.

## PLAN FOR ACTION NOW

May I suggest a plan for immediate action for pacifists and non-pacifists.

1. Immediate opposition to war on behalf of seven million Czechs.
2. Immediate opposition (by meetings and letters to the press) to national registration and conscription.
3. Emphasis on England's promise, when signing the Kellogg Pact, that "the settlement of all disputes or conflicts of whatever nature or origin shall never be sought except by pacific means."
4. Greater demand for a world conference along the lines suggested in the Van Zeeland Report (stress the fact that nowhere on the Continent has Mr. Lansbury met with anything but support for the calling of a peace conference). This conference should at least have on its agenda:
  - (a) Economic cooperation.
  - (b) Abolition of bombers.
5. Supply all ministers in own area with a copy of the two-penny Fellowship of Reconciliation pamphlet, *Christian Attitude to ARP*.

I am convinced that if the peace movement in Britain, led by the sponsors and group leaders of the Peace Pledge Union, will throw itself into executing this short-term programme immediately and with all its energies, war can be averted.

PATRICK RICHARDS.

## FREE ECONOMICS

A week or two ago a letter appeared in your journal urging a study of Henry George's *Progress and Poverty*. Readers may be interested to learn that a number of free courses in Georgist economics—with *Progress and Poverty* as text book—are being given in London and the provinces this autumn.

Arrangements have already been made to give five ten week courses at 1.7 Southampton Row, W.C., commencing on October 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7, and five at 63b Buckingham Gate, S.W.1, commencing on October 10, 11, 12, 13 and 14. Students attend only one night a week and may enrol for attendance at either centre any evening from Monday to Friday.

The Henry George School of Economics, which is responsible for these courses, is an organization run absolutely voluntarily and supported voluntarily. It is strictly non-party and has as its objective the equipping of men and women interested in peace and social justice, with a knowledge of the all-important economic background.

The school has already conducted three successful terms, during which nearly 500 students were enrolled. It enjoys the full support of Mr. George Lansbury and includes in its ranks many active members of the various pacifist groups. An attempt is being made to extend the school's work to the provinces. Classes are planned for one or two centres—notably Ipswich—and arrangements are being completed for the running of correspondence courses.

All readers of PEACE NEWS are invited to afford themselves of the facilities offered by the school and to cooperate with it in its work. I should be pleased to supply further details to anyone who cares to write to me.

JOHN MAWSON.  
Henry George Fellowship,  
34, Paternoster Row, E.C.4.

## PRODUCTION FOR PROFIT

I would like to endorse the statements of your correspondents, Miss Gladys Bing (PEACE NEWS, September 3). Pacifism alone is not sufficient. Some constructive policy must be adopted by all who wish to establish a permanent state of peace in Europe.

Competition for overseas markets and investment markets is a condition of incipient warfare and it is just one step further to the use of force.

Until each nation frees itself from the tyranny of the bankers and creates "free" purchasing power with equivalence to its real wealth, so that the people can consume sufficient of their own goods, no amicable exchange of surplus foods is possible.

So long as a condition of "poverty amidst plenty" exists there must always be imminent danger of war. One of the causes of war may be the unbridled lust for power of individuals but a dictatorship simply could not exist in a country where plenty and prosperity reigned. It is only a system of usury which prevents the attainment of this end.

The pacific attitude is a beginning only, however important. It should provide that freedom and security upon which a sound economic structure, which reflects reality, might be built. The difficulty is that the security and freedom of peace cannot be assured so long as the economic system remains unsound.

(Miss) KATHLEEN M. ORMISTEAD.  
7 Carter Terrace, Whitkirk, Leeds

## ALL-WOMEN POSTER PARADE

Next Saturday (September 17), instead of the usual parade from 96 Regent Street, a parade for women only will take place. Special posters are being prepared appealing to women to renounce war. Mrs. Pethwick Lawrence's leaflet *A call to Women to resist War* and other suitable leaflets will be used.

The parade will leave 96 Regent Street at 6.45 p.m., returning at 8 p.m., when refreshments will be available. A second parade will start at 8.45 p.m. returning at 9.45 p.m.

It is hoped that women members will take this opportunity and turn out in large numbers. As "M.S." of "A Woman's Point of View" has pointed out, such a parade will find its news and publicity value mainly in the fact that it is composed of women. "Women are news" and a sufficiently large parade would undoubtedly stir the public imagination. The bigger the parade, the more news value.

We can cater for any number so let us have something really sensational this time.

DON LEANEY.  
115 Palace Road, S.W.2.

Letters to the Editor should be as short as possible and written on one side of the paper only. Owing to pressure on space we reserve the right to publish extracts from letters.

Correspondents must send their names and addresses, though not necessarily for publication.

## Community for the Unemployed?

I WAS greatly interested in Theodore Harris's letter, published in your issue of August 27, and having read J. W. King's *To Hell with the Dole*—which I think all pacifists should read—I believe these ideals could be put into practice by the Peace Pledge Union.

I am sure there are many men and women who in their present circumstances, feel that they are being crushed out of society by the present capitalist system, which has no place for them. Many too, like myself, are depending wholly upon their families for support because of the Means' Test.

Would it not be practical pacifism to draw all these unemployed members into a community and let them provide for themselves and others and so encourage them?

In the same issue I was glad to see that a peace centre had been procured in Edinburgh. Would it not be great work if this place was used as the commencement of such a community, where the members could produce and be taught to produce for themselves, those things they are in need of?

So I would appeal to the Secretary of the Edinburgh group to get in touch with those who are interested in such a scheme—the unemployed instructors, and those who would be prepared to give financial support.

Not only do I appeal to Edinburgh but to groups all over the country to do the same. This community system does not seem to me to be dodging the issue, but in reality it is a reply to a system that finds no use for humanity in an age of machinery.

W. LAUDER.  
2 Hawkhill Avenue, Edinburgh, 7.

## UNEMPLOYMENT

All this endless talk of unemployment being an evil turns me sick. On the contrary it is a great blessing, as we now live in a power age and, as a result, unemployment has come to stay (failing an air raid in the meantime).

The remedy lies not in war but in a drastic revision of the evils of the present money system (money shortage of which we are all the victims) as outlined in Major Douglas's *Principles of Social Credit*.

What the people of the world need is money in their pockets to buy the unlimited surplus of goods which are now restricted and destroyed which is blasphemy to the Creator.

Lack of this money which is falsely described as wealth, and which is only the passport to the real wealth (that is, goods and services) is primarily the only cause of all the world's tragedies, viz. fighting for markets on the proceeds of which the very existence of the people depend.

Since money is created costlessly by banks (see *Encyclopaedia Britannica*) this should not prove an insuperable task.

D. M. POOL.  
18 Cross Lane, Scarborough.

## NON-VIOLENCE

Marjorie Fenn (PEACE NEWS, September 3) says "surely setting fire to other people's property cannot be considered as non-violent resistance."

In this instance the aim was the destruction of material assembled for an anti-social purpose. Would Marjorie Fenn agree to the placing of a live bomb in a bucket of water, which would be none the less the destruction of other people's property, but incidentally an action directed toward the well-being of our fellows?

ERNEST H. FLETCHER.  
59 Bushmore Road, Hall Green, Birmingham.

## Pacifism and the Class War

ON reading Cecil Davies' letter (PEACE NEWS, August 27), while appreciating our unity on general principles, I am left wondering how non-violence works. I cannot agree that it should be simply a new technique for the old spirit of compulsion; and if it renounces compulsion, how does it work, if not by appeal to the "divine spark" in the oppressors?

Capitalism is not an idea that can be liquidated before we begin to deal with persons. The pacifist can achieve a new social order only with the cooperation of the owners.

The main factor in bringing this about, I think, will be the inherent instability of capitalism itself, but the pacifist can help considerably. His only weapon is friendliness.

The way of pacifism is the way of friendliness, of destroying enemies by making them your friends, of acting to the utmost on the assumption that a friendly response is possible from all. In a pacifist world, there can be no question of revengeful, so-called, "justice," an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth. "Love has no rights."

Between friends there can be only need, and prompt response to need. (This is true justice). I see no other hope than in methods which rely on achieving this relationship.

CAECILIA E. M. PUGH.  
19 Wellesley Road, Colchester.

## THE CHURCH'S HYPOCRISY

I have just returned to my parish after a month's holiday to find a whole stack of church papers awaiting my perusal—the *Church Times*, *Church of England Newspaper*, and the *Guardian*. One and all alike deplore the horrors of Spain and the bombings of China by the Japanese. In fact, throughout ecclesiastical circles generally there appears to be nothing but widespread disgust with the manner of warfare being waged on different fronts. Protests have been made again and again, but, as the *Church Times* says, British protests are ridiculed by the Nazi press as mere hypocrisy in view of the British bombings on the North West Frontier of India.

It would seem to me, sir, that from beginning to end these protests on the part of the Church from the Archbishop to the humblest curate are the rankest hypocrisy. War is war, and there can never in the final analysis be any discrimination between military and non-military objectives, combatants and non-combatants.

Bombers are not made for pleasure cruises; they are made for the purpose of killing, whether that killing be in the interests of justice, liberty, democracy, civilization, or any other old-time shibboleth the Government may see fit to dangle before the public. Are we not spending our millions to do exactly the same thing to our neighbours in the event of another war?

The Church of England, through its leading ecclesiastical champions, has voiced again and again its adherence to Article 37—that it is lawful for the Christian at the call of the magistrate to wear weapons and serve in wars. In other words, it is lawful (no matter what excuse is offered) for a Christian to slaughter defenceless men, women, and children, indiscriminately.

I maintain, sir, that any protests on the part of the Church are the rankest hypocrisy, for on every hand the Church is active in the propagation of the war system by openly encouraging its varied activities.

To quote the editorial in the *Church Times*, for July 1, "The Church of England is more interested in erecting stone altars while Pastor Niemöller languishes in a concentration camp."

This instead of trying to put into practice a resolution now well forgotten: That war as an instrument of settling international disputes is contrary to the mind of Christ.

AN ANGLICAN CLERGYMAN.  
British Columbia.

Read the  
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London Office: Gray's Inn Road, London.



## DIARY OF THE WEEK

September

10 (Sat.) ILFORD; 3 p.m. 26 Ropley Road; garden party; PPU.

CROYDON; 7.30 p.m. Katherine Street; open-air meeting; Miss Sybil Morrison, John Barclay and George Piper; PPU.

OXFORD; 8 p.m. St. Giles; open-air meeting; Nigel Spottiswoode; PPU.

12 (Mon.) DOVER; 7.30 p.m. Salem School Hall; Rev. C. Paul Gliddon on "Pacifism—the Alternative to War"; Rev. E. A. Way (chairman); FoR and PPU.

13 (Tues.) GRAVESEND; 8 p.m. Cooperative Cafe, New Road; Nigel Spottiswoode on "The Way of Peace"; Democratic Fellowship and PPU.

14 (Wed.) BATTERSEA (Lower); 7 p.m. Town Hall; meeting for teachers; "Peace Begins in School"; Bishop of Kingston, Dr. Wickelgran, Miss Stewart Parnell, and Mr. A. Tasker (chairman); West Lambeth Teachers' Association.

KINGSWAY; 8 p.m. Wild Court; open-air meeting; Methodist Peace Fellowship.

15 (Thurs.) LONDON, E.C.4; 1.10 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; Dr. Alfred Salter; City PPU group.

LONDON, E.C.4; 5.30 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; Sydney Larcombe on "Pacifism is Abroad"; City PPU group.

NOTTINGHAM; 7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Friar Lane; general meeting; PPU.

BOSTON; 7.30 p.m. Methodist Chapel Room, West Street; Miss Mary Gamble; PPU.

LEICESTER; 8 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Prebend Street; Rev. Reginald Sorensen on "The Moral and Social Trickery of War"; PPU.

SUTTON; 8 p.m. 51 Sherwood Park Road; discussion on "Our attitude to ARP"; an ARP lecturer has been invited to give his views; PPU.

17 (Sat.) ELTHAM; 6 p.m. 10 Downman Road, Well Hall; meet for poster parade; 7 p.m. open-air meeting in Roper Street; John Barclay; PPU.

17-18 (Sat.-Sun.) NORTHAMPTON; 3 p.m.-10 p.m. and 2.30 p.m.-9 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Wellington Street; conference on "Civilization and Pacifism"; speaker, John P. Fletcher; PPU, Northampton and district groups.

17-19 (Sat.-Mon.) BEWDLEY; weekend gathering; PPU; details from Mrs. B. A. Phillips, 57 Middlepark Road, Selly Oak, Birmingham.

### COMING SHORTLY

September

22-24 (Thurs.-Sat.) LONDON, N.W.1; Friends House, Euston Road; congress on "The Principles of Christian Pacifism and its Task"; details from the secretary, Council of Christian Pacifist Groups, 16 Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.

23-25 (Fri.-Sun.) GLASGOW; McLellan Galleries, Sauchiehall Street; Peace and Empire Congress; particulars from organizing secretary (Mrs. Helen Crawford), 79, West Regent Street, Glasgow, C.2.

27 (Tues.) DARTFORD; 8 p.m. Presbyterian Church, Wathing Street; Lord Arnold, Rev. A. Herbert Gray and Mr. Mrs. Welch (chairman); PPU and FoR.

### METHODISTS' ACTION FOR FRIENDSHIP

The discussion which led up to the decision of this year's Methodist Conference to urge every Methodist, who possibly can do so, to try to get into touch by letter or otherwise, with a citizen of another country, and to offer, in Christ's name, to think, pray, and work together for good will and peace, and thus help to build up a peace-resolve among the peoples of the earth.

has now been recorded in leaflet form.

The decision was taken unanimously, after the president of the conference had asked each member to realize that if he held up his hand he was pledging himself to carry out what was embodied in the resolution, which had been moved by the Rev. Henry Carter.

The leaflet referred to is published by the Methodist Social Welfare Department, 1 Central Buildings London, W.C.1.

### THE ARYAN PATH

SPECIAL NON-VIOLENCE NUMBER

Vol IX September No. 9

AN ABSTRACT ACCOUNT OF  
HIND SWARAJ Dr. F. Soddy  
A DISTURBING BOOK G. D. H. Cole  
THE TEACHING OF GANDHI Dr. Delisle Burns

REAL SWARAJ  
A Spiritual Classic J. Middleton Murry  
THE LAW OF LOVE J. D. Beresford  
A REVOLUTIONARY MESSAGE H. T. A. Fausset

CIVILIZATION: THE  
PATH OF DUTY Claude Houghton  
HIND SWARAJ: Vision of a New  
Order Gerald Heard  
WHAT ABOUT THE CHILDREN? Irene Rathbone

All peace workers should read this special number—and is 6d. for single copy.  
17 Great Cumberland Place, London, W.1.

## POINTS for the PLATFORM

### What our Bombers are for

OPINION in France is that the German attack on Czechoslovakia would be so brutal (since everything would depend upon its speedy success) that all scruples in this country and in France about the bombardment of German towns—the most obvious, if also the most unpleasant way in which immediately effective help could be given in view of the new German fortifications—would be swept away.

—Vernon Bartlett in *News Chronicle*, August 30.

### Words—

CONTENTMENT is a great pacifist. If we can make the nations of Europe, or help to make them, content with their position and their condition today, we shall have done even more for the prevention of war than the raising of great armaments.

—Sir Thomas Inskip, August 29.

### —& Deeds

NOT content, however, with "the raising of great armaments" (only too likely to be a secondary cause of war) the Government appears to be contemplating action which will mean more economic discrimination against European countries—hardly conducive to "contentment." The *Manchester Guardian* reported on August 25:

If the forecast which an American news agency has given of the contents of the nearly completed Anglo-American trade agreement proves accurate, the British Government may have to operate its tariff machinery with some ingenuity. This forecast suggests that American car manufacturers are to be given a ten per cent preference over all other exporters to Britain except those in the Empire.

The British Government has recently shown itself so sensitive to the pressure of car manufacturers at home that it has abolished the McKenna duties of 33½ per cent on foreign cars and has put these cars at the decision of the Tariff Advisory Committee, which can raise or lower the rate of duty, but is likely to raise it.

### Economy & Profits

CONCERN "about the attitude of many who say we cannot afford increased old-age pensions and unemployment benefits while they do not say a word about the huge profits that have been made and continue to be made on rearmament" prompted a letter by Mr. Ellis Smith, MP, in the *Manchester Guardian* on August 25.

He recalled Lord Baldwin's pledge of May, 1935, that "there shall be no profiteering in what I might almost call an emergency, and declared that facts proved this had not been kept. The letter continued: The rearmament proposals were soon being discounted with a vengeance in wild speculation, which had its effect on the cost of materials and the future manufacturing costs of plant and products.

We see that after the inflated costs of material have been met, after the high cost of plant (which includes machine tools), aircraft companies are paying dividends of twelve to forty per cent, and some companies have given a substantial free share bonus.

### Smoke Screen

FOR the first time a Cabinet Minister has taken official notice of a set of cigarette cards. In albums made to hold a series of cards dealing with ARP, the Home Secretary has written a foreword.

### Aids to Expansion

IT is "only a question of time" until Britain loses her possessions in the Far East, forecasts the *National Zeitung* of Essen.

This newspaper, regarded as the mouthpiece of Air Minister Goering, divides colonial expansion in the past into two periods—that of the "Cross and Inquisition" before the defeat of the Spanish Armada, followed by that of the "Bible and whisky."

—Daily Herald, August 30.

### Choice for Teachers

THAT "every teacher has to sit down and ask himself 'Which am I to do, to pick the old world or prepare for a new one?'" was the argument of Mr. H. G. Wells in an address to the Education section of the British Association, to which he and Sir Richard Gregory presented the report of a special committee. Mr. Wells also said:

Education in the past took no notice of the change in the world. Its tradition was that it was a conservative force for the preservation of a society permanently established.

### War Causes Drug Shortage

FEARS of a famine in ephedrine, a drug recognized as of great value in the treatment of asthma, was reported in *The Times* on August 13 to be due to war, for it is obtained from a herb which grows wild in China and Spain.

The impossibility of securing supplies from either area has led to the production of the drug by a synthetic process and the use of an Indian herb which it was previously not a commercial proposition to use.

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## "SCOUTING NOT MILITARY"

—and they all applauded

OFFICIAL confirmation that Scouting is not military has been provided at a Smethwick, Birmingham, Scout show. It was due in the first place to the indiscretions of a mayor.

The mayor of a local borough—not Smethwick—was invited to say a "few words." These dwelt on the subject of ARP, and went on to couple Scouting with the Territorial Army. Out of sight behind a curtain, members of the movement who were waiting for the show to begin became more and more indignant.

When the mayor at last sat down the local district commissioner rose and assured the audience that Scouting had nothing whatever to do with militarism. This was greeted by such clapping from the audience and members of the movement, that for several minutes there was a demonstration of the attitude of the rank and file—and parents—to militarism.

An attempt to smooth things over was subsequently made by the deputy commissioner, who assured the audience that the mayor was "a good Scout at heart!"

The movement's local association in Smethwick turned down the suggestion to cooperate in ARP, in direct opposition to the wishes of the deputy commissioner and mayor, both of whom are ex-army men. In spite of this the deputy commissioner offered the services of the association to the ARP authorities, but there has been no general response from within the movement. (Pacifists in the Scout movement are invited to write to John Barclay, Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1.)

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### LECTURES

THE FUTILITY AND SUICIDAL POLICY OF WAR: the above address given by Captain Butcher, Royal Societies Club, St. James's St., anytime, anywhere (10 miles radius) without fee or expenses.

### LITERATURE

"DIVINE PLAN FOR WORLD PEACE" by J. O'Donnell. Send 1s. 1d. for copy to Hon. Sec., International League of Good Will, 23 Barnes Crescent, Ensbury Park, Bournemouth.

### MEETINGS, &c.

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION (London Union). A Fellowship Hour, for communion with God and each other, is held the third Monday in each month, from 6 to 7 p.m., at 17 Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

### PERSONAL

ANY PACIFIST who, passing through Derbyshire, finds himself (or herself) in the neighbourhood of Baslow, will receive a cordial welcome if he cares to spend an hour or so of his visit at the house of Miss Haselhope Collin, "Windrush," Baslow, Derbyshire.

### SITUATION

#### Vacant

KINGSLEY HALL, BOW. Peace Centre. Two vacancies for office secretary and house-mother, to live in community. Maintenance and small salary offered in each case. Write giving experience to Rev. G. S. Pain, Kingsley Hall, Powis Road, Bow, E.3.

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## AMERICAN CALL TO BREAK VICIOUS CIRCLE OF ARMS, POVERTY, & HATRED

**A** NEW attempt to break "the vicious circle of armament, trade restriction, economic misery, and international hatred" was urged by the American Ambassador to France, Mr. William Bullitt, on Sunday.

The speech was made at Pointe de Grave, where he and M. Bonnet, French Foreign Minister, unveiled a monument to commemorate America's entry into the Great War.

If agreement could be reached on the abolition of the bombing of cities and civilian populations, and later on the abolition of bombing aeroplanes, could not that, he asked "be followed by a general treaty for limitation of armaments?"

And if nations that had pushed self-sufficiency to the height of unreason, pleading their inability to get at raw materials, were taken at their word, would it not be possible to begin negotiations "for their reintegration in the economic body of the world?"

Mr. Bullitt's speech was also notable for a declaration that, "if war should break out again in Europe, no human being can undertake to state or prophesy whether or not the United States would become involved in such a war."

### SPIRIT OF GOOD WILL

Referring to the principles—stated by the US Secretary of State—which the American Government believed to constitute a programme of peace, security, and prosperity for themselves and for all other nations, Mr. Bullitt said that a comprehensive programme of the sort contemplated could "be put into effect at once in its entirety only by all the nations of the world collaborating in a spirit of mutual helpfulness and good will."

Such a spirit, he added, was conspicuous by its absence in many parts of the earth.

Mr. Bullitt emphasized French-American solidarity, as did also M. Bonnet, who said that what they wanted was not American help in war—they did not want war. They wanted American help for the cause of peace, for the safeguarding and organization of peace.

Grave, where he and M. Bonnet,

### HUNGARIAN PREMIER ON

## Relations with "Axis" Powers: Conscription: Land Reform

**F**OLLOWING are chief points from an important speech made by the Hungarian Prime Minister, Dr. Imredy, on Sunday, in which he dealt with foreign policy, defence measures, and social and land reform:

### FOREIGN POLICY

The visits of Dr. Imredy himself and the Foreign Minister to Italy, and of the Regent to Germany, had strengthened friendly relations with those countries.

Hungary's efforts to come to terms with her neighbours, however, culminating in the preliminary agreements outlined in the Bled Declaration, showed that friendships with Germany and Italy were not exclusive in character.

### DEFENCE

The first measure to be introduced in the next parliamentary session would be a Defence Bill based on conscription. This would include a scheme of pre-military training.

### SOCIAL REFORM

Schemes to be introduced were a family wage system to benefit workers with children, and a Hungarian *dopolaro* (leisure-time organization). Finance would be provided by increased taxation, including a new estate tax on families where there was no issue, or only a few heirs.

### LAND REFORM

Introduction of a new scheme under which entailed properties above 400 acres, and other estates above 700 acres, could be compulsorily broken up into small holdings for lease.

Settlement of agricultural debts was also to be proceeded with and other measures would deal with housing of labourers and landowners' servants.

Dr. Imredy declared that his reforms would work revolutionary changes in the social structure without recourse to revolutionary measures. He hoped freedom of discussion and criticism would not need to be curtailed, but indicated he would not hesitate to act if he thought it necessary.

## News of Note

**A** BITTER attack on the "campaign of lies" against Germany, which he said was carried on abroad, marked an address by Dr. Goebbels at Sunday's final mass meeting at the gathering of Nazi organizations held at Stuttgart all last week.

### MEXICO STILL FIRM

In a speech to Mexican Congress on Friday last the President, referring to American claims for arbitration on agrarian claims, announced refusal to yield to economic or diplomatic pressure, but agreed to a joint discussion. Referring to Anglo-Mexican relations, he said he would welcome solution in harmony with Mexican rights. A Bill to be introduced will prevent further concessions for exploitation of sub-soil.

### POLITICS BAN IN AUSTRALIAN FORCES

Following formation of National Action Front—apparently a fascist organization—Australian Executive Council has approved regulations barring members of permanent military forces from participating in affairs of any political organization by speaking, distributing literature, or otherwise.

### JEWS IN ITALY

Among the reactions to Italy's new racial laws has been a boycott against importation of Italian fruit on the London Fruit Exchange where there are many Jewish wholesale fruit merchants.

An area in Ethiopia is reliably reported to have been set aside for Jewish settlement. It possesses agricultural and industrial resources sufficient to support a considerable population. Foreign Jews will be allowed to emigrate to it after applying for permission while Italian Jews will also be allowed to settle there if they wish.

### BURMA RIOTS: INDIAN DEMAND

A motion demanding immediate and drastic action to quell "anti-Indian violence" in Burma by the Government and Secretary of State for India and Burma was carried by a large majority in the Indian Central Assembly on Monday.

### ITALY'S WARS

An obelisk has just been unveiled near Rome in memory of the Italians who have fallen in the Spanish War.

According to official reports 2,206 Italians have been killed in Spain. It is interesting to note that Italian casualties, killed, wounded, and missing in Abyssinia amounted to some 1,609.

## Civilians Bombed in Spain

## SOME ATTACKS WERE DELIBERATE

### Commission's Report

**T**HE first report of the Commission appointed by the British Government to investigate air bombardment in Spain was issued last week.

The commission states that of 46 raids on Alicante, examined at the request of the Spanish Government, at least 41 raids were deliberate attempts to hit the port area or the railway stations.

On the other hand, it was found that in six raids on various towns, considered by the Spanish Government to be the most unjustifiable, 290 civilians were killed and 295 injured in "deliberate attacks on a civilian area of a town" by the insurgent forces.

The commission explains its conclusion with regard to the raids on Alicante by referring to its "unfortunate" position from the point of view of civil population, the houses being near the harbour.

The commission says of the raid on Barcelona on August 19, when 24 were killed and 80 wounded, that it was either a deliberate attack on a civilian area or "a very badly aimed attack on the port area conducted by an unskilled squadron." The mission, which personally witnessed the raid, confirmed that no military objectives were in the area in question.

An attack on the outskirts of Sitges, near Barcelona, where there were 3,000 children of refugees and soldiers and 400 wounded soldiers in hospital, was investigated, it being found that bombs had been dropped on a civilian area, and that if the intention of the pilots was to attack the railway line they should have chosen another point well away from a town such as Sitges.

A raid on August 25 on Torrevieja—where the harbour is used only for fishing and the export of salt—is referred to as "a deliberate attack on a defenceless civil population."

## TEMPERED PATRIOTISM

A resolution expressing the view, among other things, that love of one's own nation was an ethical necessity, but should always be associated with respect for the right of the existence of other peoples, was adopted at the European Minorities' Congress which ended in Stockholm last week.

Another resolution declared that the whole situation of national groups in Europe was growing worse, and asked European Governments to strive for a settlement.

A prominent member of the Henlein Party, Dr. David, spoke on behalf of the deputy leader of that party, and discussed the danger to peace of suppressing the rights of national groups.

He admitted that he had not touched the real kernel of the question, and referred to the danger of being misunderstood; he maintained that recent events had shown that coolheadedness and discipline of national groups could reduce moments of danger.

## Communist Pledge To Aid An Empire

Dutch communists and socialists have just declared themselves ready to defend, together with Catholics and Protestants, the vast Dutch colonial territory against an eventual attack from Japan.

This statement, made by Bart. de Ligt at the Peace Academy summer school, is further evidence of the way in which communists—as shown by Ben Greene in PEACE NEWS last week—are playing a part in the game of power politics which is just as unprincipled as that played by imperialists themselves.

## A SUDETEN GERMAN'S VISIT TO BERLIN

## Reports that Germans Are Tired of Nazi Tyranny

**A** Sudeten German anti-fascist, whose friend had visited Germany, tells, in *Freies Deutschland* (journal of the "German opposition"), of a conversation he had on his friend's return.

The friend, referred to as "Charles" had not previously been particularly interested in politics. He had been in Berlin on an engineering course.

The Sudeten German anti-fascist describes their conversation as follows.

**E**XACTLY a month had passed when Charles returned unexpectedly. He was not feeling well, were his first words. He had taken advantage of a touch of influenza to leave Germany—really he was fed up with the Third Reich.

This is what he told me: "Your Berlin friend was not a little surprised when I gave him greetings from 'outside'. At first he was very reserved. After he had taken my measure thoroughly, he thawed.

"I observed that all these oppressed people were the same, but once they do speak the slumbering spark bursts into flame. Everybody wants to make an end to this system of terror."

"Particularly the young people," my friend continued, "with difficulty conceal how oppressive the nazi tyranny is. Their worst fear is that the system will precipitate war."

"But is it not the general opinion that war will destroy the nazi system?" I asked. "Certainly one hears that, but only from the unpolitically minded."

"Do you think that there are others, besides the workers who would gladly see the end of this system?"

Charles laughed, a gleam spread over his tired face. "Are there any? I spoke to at least fifty people of the most varied callings and in my whole visit, as true as I sit here, not a single one defended the nazi regime."

Incredulously I broke in: "I'm surprised that people so spied on by the Gestapo dare be so open to a stranger."

"Well, they didn't say it all at once, but when I told them I was a Czechoslovakian, and showed them my passport, the whole story came out.

"One nazi came up to me and started talking about rearmament, the splendid army and such twaddle. I could not help myself, and wished him twenty years' pack drill. I showed him my wounds from the last war, and told him that the terrible expenditure on rearmament could only be paid for by a further sinking of the standard of living. My friend the Luxemburger asked a man from the Rhineland, who was standing near, which of us was right."

"Well," said the Düsseldorf, "from the standpoint of the Fatherland my countryman has said the only possible thing, but from the standpoint of humanity the Czech is right every time."

It is always like this. Whoever criticizes this system has his own mode of expression; everybody understands.

A Berliner said to me: "It's a shame you

don't like our bread. It's so rich in vitamins."

One day the porter shouted to me, "Eh, young man"—with a twinkle in his eye—"I hear nothing but 'good morning' and 'good day' from you. We don't say that any more—it's 'Heil Hitler' now. If you indulge in the luxury of a 'good day,' you run the risk of being locked up."

"That's nothing to me," I answered, smiling, "I'm from Czechoslovakia."

"Ah," he said, "I hear there's a great deal of fighting going on there."

"I noticed nothing five days ago when I came out."

"What, no fighting? Listen to me, young man. Just you read your German newspapers, and then you'll know soon enough what a mess you're in."

### Hitler Distrusted

"Five months after his greatest triumph Hitler is today for the first time distrusted by the bulk of the German people," wrote W. N. Ewer, Diplomatic Correspondent of the *Daily Herald*, in an article on August 26.

Fear of war, he said, was turning the country against Hitler, and the calling up of reservists for manœuvres had led to "something near panic."

"At Spandau women and girls went on to the station and stood on the line to prevent the train with their men from leaving. They had to be removed by force."

"At another town near Berlin the men themselves refused to entrain. A party official was fetched. He threatened, then cajoled them with promises and assurances. At last they went."

Mr. Ewer also declared that "even the anti-Jewish campaign is defeating its own ends. . . . It is arousing pity for the Jews even among those who most dislike them."



# PEACE NEWS

September 10, 1938

## Public Affairs Commentary (continued from page 1)

put the case against war as ably as any pacifist could. I suspect that Mr. Morrison leans toward pacifism but dare not join up with us because he reserves what we have renounced—the right to fight.

Would he fight to maintain the "strategic value of the Bohemian frontier"?

A declaration by Mr. Morrison on this point would have important political repercussions here and in Germany, whereas his Open Letter, while opportune, does no more than repeat what the statesmen of Europe have been paying lip-service to ever since the last war ended. It would be, in fact, a blow for peace and justice and the common-sense discussion of Europe's problems that his Open Letter proposed.

### WILL THEY MEAN IT?

EVERYONE should be glad that the British Legion is going ahead with its plans to entertain 800 German ex-service men in London at the end of this month. It gives a note of confidence. The event will be notable for two things—a Government reception in Westminster Hall and a visit to the Cenotaph, at the foot of which the guests will lay a wreath.

Is the demonstration to be a mere formality or are the Germans and the British Legion to be allowed to appreciate the deep significance of both the reception and the Cenotaph gesture? There is a great deal to be said for the exchange visit but the ceremony of it may easily develop into a dangerous hypocrisy.

"Never again" will be in the minds of hosts and guests alike. Dare they publicly declare it?

### THEY PREFER BUTTER

THESE Germans who come to the Thames in liners and anchor off Greenwich for a short visit generally return to their own land deeply impressed by their short, swift glance of London and its people.

Without making any bones about it, they freely commend, in private conversation, the absence of petty restrictions compared with their own land. The yearning for freedom in everyday life, one suspects, is pretty deep in the average German's heart. And when they leave, the one thing which nearly all take home out of the few shillings that they are permitted to spend in London is—butter.

### TRADES UNION CONGRESS

THE Seventieth Trades Union Congress is meeting in Blackpool. Though mainly an industrial congress, this year at least its chief decisions will be of a political character with a decisive influence on the work and programme of the Labour Party. There is little evidence of a new inspiration coming from the organized Labour movement.

The National Council of Labour's demand for the summoning of Parliament to commit this country to definite support of Czechoslovakia shows this.

The most significant debate has been held in private and was concerned with the rearmament talks. The General Council has given a clear lead that such talks should be confined to the industrial aspect without reference to the political implications. This was no doubt strongly challenged in the private session, but there was little doubt that the General Council would succeed in maintaining its attitude.

The presidential speech of Mr. H. H. Elvin, in its references to foreign affairs, showed how completely the Labour movement has lost all sense of direction since it has adopted "collective security" as the guiding principle of a peace policy.

### PLIGHT OF THE REFUGEES

THE problem of the refugees coming from Germany and Austria is the subject of the report to be presented by the High Commissioner at the coming Assembly of the League of Nations. He has described this problem as one of the greatest tragedies of modern times. Not only is the problem intensified by the incorporation of Austria, but now by the new racial laws adopted by Italy. The Assembly will examine and consider the basis of cooperation established at Evian.

The time has come when British public opinion should be roused in favour of a more liberal refugee policy. Compared with France, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria, the British policy looks black indeed.

Some pressure should also be exerted upon Soviet Russia to play some part in easing the problem for which she has the

space and the resources, greater than many other countries.

It seems strange that even communist refugees are unable to find a sanctuary on Soviet soil.

### JEWS IN ITALY

TWO vicious decrees have been issued by the Italian Government against the Jews. The first expels within six months those whose father and mother were both Jews and who settled in Italian territory after January 1919, including nationalized Italians, and those who profess any other religion.

The second decree excludes Jews (of the same definition) who are not subject to expulsion from all posts in government schools, or schools under government control. No Jewish pupils will be allowed in government schools, and only those Jews who have already commenced their studies will be allowed to continue in the universities.

It would seem that these are only the first steps in a systematic anti-Jewish policy which Italy, under German influence, is now adopting. It remains to be seen whether Italy proposes to adopt in full the Nuremberg laws in all their severity, including the confiscation of Jewish property, which has made the problem of the German Jewish refugees so very much more heartbreaking and difficult than it need have been. It will be interesting to see the effect of the offer of part of Abyssinia as a Jewish settlement. It is not likely to be much more comfortable than in Italy now.

### CIVIL WAR IN SPAIN

SINCE General Franco has virtually rejected the Non-Intervention Committee's proposals for the withdrawal of foreign volunteers, little further progress has been made in arriving at a "settlement" of the Spanish problem. The next move lies with the Non-Intervention Committee and this has not met since Franco's reply has been received and there seems to be no sign of an early meeting.

Events in central Europe have put the problems of Spain and the Anglo-Italian Agreement into the background; but the seriousness of the position is not diminished.

The appeal made by Señor de Madariaga for the ending of the civil war by mediation may find some response. The war is now entering its third winter and no military settlement is yet in sight. Negrin's thirteen points should offer a real basis for a settlement by mediation and end the century of turbulence from which Spain has suffered.

### BOMBING IN SPAIN

THE British Commission for the Investigation of Air Bombardment has issued its first report. It was originally intended that this commission should have an international personnel to be at the service of either side in the civil war for the purpose of investigating and reporting on aerial attacks, with a view to mobilizing world public opinion against the bombing of open towns.

Though its personnel is now purely British, its purpose remains the same, though its effect on world public opinion is not likely to be very great.

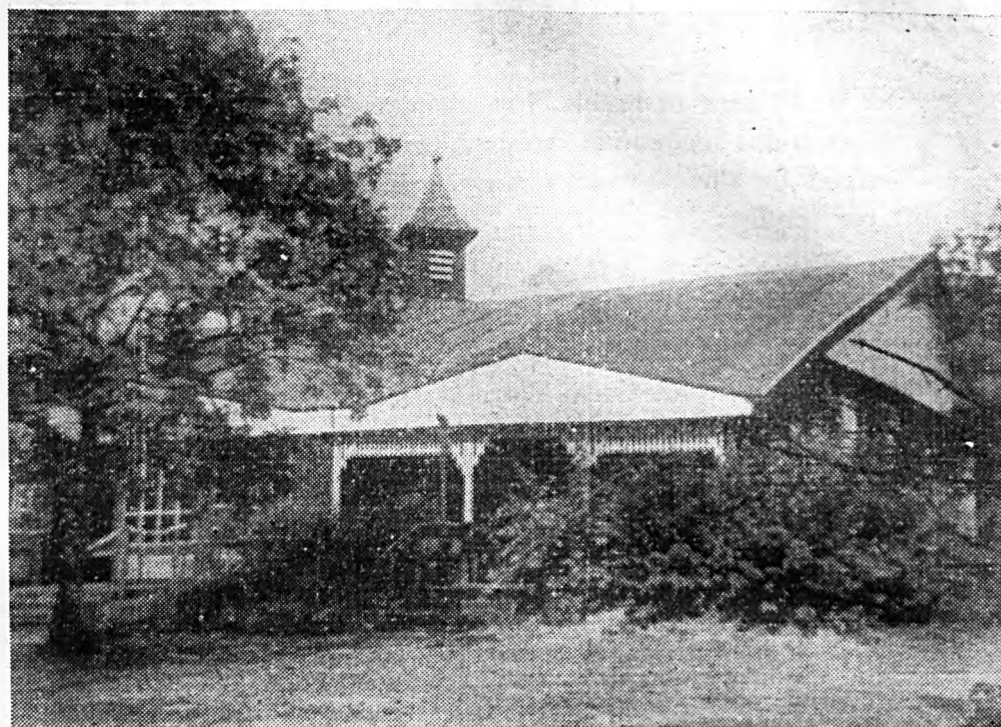
The commission's report is summarized on page 15; its general effect would seem to confirm that it is impossible to humanize war and that a world public opinion against all war is the only reasonable solution to the moral question raised by the bombing of open towns.

### CANADA AND BRITISH POLITICS

THE British Air Mission to Canada has succeeded in making arrangements whereby the British Government can place contracts in Canada for bomber aircraft.

However "constitutionally correct" the Dominion Government may be in relation to these negotiations of the British Government with the Canadian aircraft industry (presumably financed by a large proportion of American capital), the success of these negotiations must inevitably weaken the constitutional rights of the Canadian people as to whether or not they are committed to support Britain in the event of war.

These aircraft agreements must involve Canada in the power politics of Great Britain. The fact that a long-range agreement has been concluded is an indication that there is little hope or inclination for any kind of international agreement for disarmament in the air.



The Assembly Hall at Camp Lunteren, Holland. This is where the International Fellowship of Reconciliation held its conference at the end of July and beginning of August; it is also a meeting place for the Dutch Fellowship of Reconciliation.

## CHANCE TO LEAD THE WORLD

### Rotarian Plans New Role for English-speaking Peoples

The bringing about of an understanding among English-speaking peoples of the world as to the maintenance of peace until world order can be attained is the project which has been laid before the Rotary Clubs of Great Britain by Mr. Theo. Jones, President of the Bristol Rotary Club.

It is not claimed by Mr. Jones that English-speaking people are greater lovers of peace than other peoples, but that they find themselves with certain advantages which would be of value in this task.

The new movement within Rotary which is envisaged does not concern itself with all the details of its objective, and thus leaves the way open for English-speaking peoples to give a lead for peace by taking generous steps to share the world's wealth among all nations equitably.

THE goal outlined above was suggested by Mr. Jones as a present task for Rotary in his inaugural address in July. Last month Mr. H. V. Hindle laid before the Bristol Rotary Club some of the practical measures proposed by Mr. Jones.

"Many thousands of people have said, and probably millions have thought, that if only the English-speaking peoples of the world would they could maintain the peace of the world," said Mr. Hindle. "In thus saying, or thinking, they are making no claim that English-speaking people are greater lovers of peace than the peoples of other races or that they are possessed of greater intelligence or rarer gifts, but only that a common language, shared by vast millions of people widely spread over the

earth's surface, gives certain advantages to those bent upon the maintenance of present, and the establishment of permanent, peace."

The first of these advantages, he said, was inherent in the possession of the language itself.

The second great advantage was found in the geographical spread of the countries speaking the English tongue. Practically all of them, including, of course, our own island, were removed from frontier alignment with other countries and so were free from a prolific source of misunderstanding and the fear of easy invasion.

### MOST FAVOURABLY PLACED

These advantages, said Mr. Hindle, made us "the most favourably placed peoples for a disinterested maintenance of peace until the major problems of our world can be equitably and justly solved."

Although there were many problems in which the English-speaking people were involved, this did not prevent them from seeking peace and ensuing it, until by reason and inspiration there had been wrought out a settlement in equity and law.

In making the present proposal that a public opinion should be created which would lead to an understanding among English-speaking peoples—that is the United States and the British Empire—Mr. Hindle explained that this new movement within Rotary did not concern itself with the question of how such an understanding would be worked out nor as to how present commitments between nations would be adjusted. These matters the Governments concerned would settle once the peoples had made it clear that their desire for such an understanding to maintain peace must be implemented.

Nor did it seek to sabotage any existing institution or to bar non-English-speaking nations from eventual alliance. Such a understanding as was being sought must ultimate in a perfectly smooth working machinery for the maintenance of world law and order, and such machinery, to be effectual, must embrace the whole of the nations of the world.

This present movement, however, was solely concerned with the creation of a public opinion favourable to an understanding between the United States and the British Empire, only and altogether for the maintenance of peace.

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